


SPAIN

ITS STORY BRIEFLY TOLD



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation



HIS MAJESTY KING ALFONSO XIII

SPAIN

ITS STORY BRIEFLY TOLD

BY
CATHERINE MORAN

TUTOR IN THE
SPANISH ROYAL FAMILY



THE STRATFORD COMPANY
PUBLISHERS
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

COPYRIGHT — 1930 — BY
THE STRATFORD COMPANY

Publishers

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PRINTED BY
THE ALPINE PRESS, INC., BOSTON, MASS.

Introduction

THERE are four or five intensely interesting and important things which do not exist; and which may yet be necessary to our existence. One of them is a plain, popular and straightforward book which will enable English people to know something of the history of Spain. I admit that there would be something to be said for a book that should also enable English people to know something of the history of England. But that is perhaps a more ambitious design and certainly a more controversial question; for the main business of the modern Englishman, in several matters, is not so much to learn history as to unlearn history. An artificial version of the past, manufactured almost entirely in the interests of one political party, has left the ordinary reader almost as ignorant of mediæval England as he is ignorant of modern Spain. But we need not pause here upon that particular question of what may be called the Whig historians of England; there was nothing the matter with those historians except that they were not historical. The only point that concerns us here is that they made their false national story rather specially false wherever it happened to touch the story of Spain.

We might say as a popular summary that the popular intelligence has hardly ever heard of anything Spanish except the Spanish Inquisition. And even about the Spanish Inquisition it is all wrong; as men must always be wrong about a thing they cannot make head or tail of, because they only look at the tail and never the head. In the case of the Inquisition, for instance, I am very far

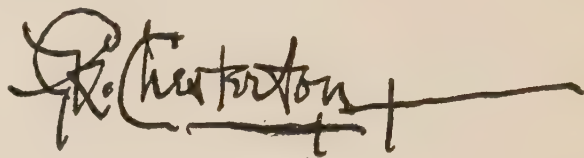
from denying that the sting was in the tail; and that it was often a very poisonous sting. But the thing had a head, a rational origin, an intelligible cause and purpose, which can only be understood in the light of the long religious wars of Spain, and her amazing revolt against Asiatic domination. It is just as if all Spaniards were instructed in the abominable details of the flogging in the old English fleet, or the infamous injustice of the English press-gang; while at the same time no Spaniard had ever heard of Nelson, or the romance of England on the sea, or the battle of Trafalgar fought in a Spanish bay.

The writer of the ensuing pages has wisely directed their design chiefly to clarity and continuity; to making a lucid plan of Spanish history, like the plan with which most of us start, or ought to start, in the case of English history. But even when stated with the firmest realism, or in the least florid style, the story is, if possible even more than the stories of the other Christian nations, essentially a story of heroes. The heroes were sometimes primitive heroes, under the limitations of the Dark Ages. The heroes sometimes had wider and richer opportunities of becoming villains in the enlightenment and expansion of the Renaissance. But the note of nobility, in the sense in which it is impossible to define except as the opposite of vulgarity, sounds through all the changing fortunes of Spain; and has sounded perhaps most clearly in her moments of misfortune and defeat. It is paying her a yet higher compliment to say that it will not be lost, when she returns, as she is already returning, to security and success. For even wealth did not destroy dignity quite so much in Spain as in the other modern countries; and there was something notably national in that Spanish

gentleman, who was commanded by the King to entertain some low millionaire of the modern sort, and who replied, "At Your Majesty's Command I will receive him; and I will burn down my house afterwards."

That note of the heroic is perhaps more needed in the special crisis of our own time than anything else. But I fully agree that the heroic is not a theme for heroics. What is wanted is direct and definite information about what this branch of our European race unquestionably endured and did; out of what chaos it had to arise; out of what slavery it had to escape; to what triumph it ascended and by what tragedy it seemed again to sink. The overwhelming majority even of educated English people hardly knows where to turn for any elementary information of this kind and has next to no idea of how one epoch or condition of Spanish affairs was joined on to the next. Even when fragments of Spanish experience are presented in the way which journalists call colourful, it is very often the wrong colour; and it is almost always coloured by some accidental prejudice or misunderstanding in the north. What we need is not to fall in love with Carmen or to fall into a frenzy of disapproval over a bull-fight; what we need is not to feel all the excitement of a foreigner over facts, or fragments of facts, with which we cannot be expected to be familiar, and which will certainly seem more important to the foreigner than they are to the native. What we want is a narrative that will begin at the beginning and tell us what really lies behind; which will give us a true outline of history, in line rather than colour, and enable us to relate men and times and institutions to each other in a rational order; and that is the sort of illuminating study that is given here. Even before we have studied such an

outline, we shall have our likes and dislikes, our tastes and opinions about Spain, and we shall probably mention them. Only, after we have studied such an outline, they will be worth mentioning.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "G. R. Chesterton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style. The "G" is large and loops around the "R". The "Chesterton" part is written in a more compact, cursive script. A long, horizontal line extends from the end of the signature to the right.

Contents

Introduction by G. K. Chesterton	i
--	---

PART I

I. From the Earliest Times to the Coming of the Romans	3
II. Roman Spain—206 B. C.—476 A. D. . . .	6
III. The Visigoths in Spain	10
IV. The Arab Occupation and the Reconquest— 718–1037	15
V. The Development of Castile	24
VI. The Growth and Development of the King- dom of Aragon	51

PART II

VII. The House of Austria	81
VIII. The House of Bourbon	171
IX. The Early Years of the Nineteenth Century	198
X. The Later Years of the Nineteenth Century	217
XI. Spain of Today	231
Chronological List of Events	240
List of Sovereigns	259
Index	261

Illustrations

His Majesty King Alfonso XIII	<i>Frontispiece</i>
	OPPOSITE PAGE
The Lady of Elche	4
Roman Aqueduct	4
Stone Bulls	4
House of the Cyclops	4
Map of Roman Spain	6
Visigoth Arch	12
Maps of Six Centuries	Between pages 14, 15
The Alhambra	20
The Mosque of Cordoba	20
Granada	20
The Cid's Casket	26
Tombs of John II and Isabella	26
High Altar. Burgos	26
Page From the Book of the Canticles of Alfonso X	36
Isabella the Catholic	48
Map of Columbus	88
Charles I	98
Cardinal Cisneros	98
Map of Empire of Charles V in Europe	102
Taking of Tunis	112
Philip II	116

Cervantes	124
Chart—Rulers of Spain, 1500-1600	130
Philip III	138
Philip IV	138
Cortés	144
Conde Duque de Olivares	144
Duke of Alba	144
Charles II	166
Philip V	166
Breakdown of the Empire	174
Charles III	188
Charles IV	188
Palafox	202
Godoy	202
Joseph Bonaparte	208
Ferdinand VII	208
Portuguese Succession and Carlist Claim	214
Alfonso XII	222
Isabella II	222
Maria Cristina	226
Map of Twentieth Century Spain	230
Chart—Rulers of Spain, 1600-1930	234

PART I

SPAIN

ITS STORY BRIEFLY TOLD

CHAPTER I

From the Earliest Times to the Coming of the Romans

THIS short history of Spain will tell you what the various peoples who have lived in the Peninsula have done to leave their imprint on the story of their country. Each in its way will have contributed some element, however small, which has played a part in the gradual development of the race and thus bequeathed a heritage that will forever prevent its name being lost.

In early times the Mediterranean Sea was the centre round which settled the moving tribes and peoples from Asia. They were called Iberians and they spread over the whole of western Europe and even reached Britain. They came to Spain about four thousand years ago. Far from remaining one united people, however, they broke up into numerous tribes, divided by the immense mountain barriers which traverse the country from east to west. Look well at these natural barriers, for they play an important part in the history of Spain.

The early Iberians lived in caves, dressed in skins and hunted with flint-tipped arrows. As ages rolled on they emerged from their caves and began to build. Their altars of sacrifice were the dolmens, one of which may

still be seen at Antequera in the Province of Cáceras; some remains of their architecture and sculpture survive in the walls of Tarragona in Catalonia, in statues of bulls and boars, and in the famous "Woman of Elche" which is in the Louvre today.

Some thousand years later came the Celts, tall, fair men, riding on ponies, driving war chariots and wielding bronze weapons. The Iberian tribes were unable to resist these warriors, who wrested from them the smiling greenlands of the north and northwest. They did not succeed in displacing the Basques, however, who clung astride the Pyrenees then just as they do now. In the east and south the Iberians were able to hold their own; but on the vast plateau which occupies the centre of the Peninsula the two peoples mixed to form a Celt-Iberian stock. They settled down to make themselves, and incidentally the country where they lived, as prosperous as might be; and gradually trading relations were established with the other peoples who bordered the Great Sea. Greeks, Phœnicians, and later, Carthaginians constantly visited the ports on the Mediterranean seaboard, and gradually set up small colonies there. The Greeks made several settlements along the eastern coast, where they planted and tended the first of the vines and the olives which have now become the staple riches of the country.

The Phœnicians established a regular colony round Gadir, now Cadiz; so flourishing did this settlement become that it made serious encroachments on Iberian land. The Iberians resisted this intrusion and attacked the colonists from Tyre. Whereupon the latter called to their aid their kinsmen who had lately established a vast empire with its centre at Carthage on the northern shores



Upper—THE LADY OF ELCHE. ROMAN AQUEDUCT

Center—STONE BULLS

Lower—HOUSE OF THE CYCLOPS

of Africa. This intervention was to have far-reaching results in the history of Spain, for when Carthage was confronted with the rivalry of Rome, it was to Spain she turned as a base of attack against her enemy. Hamilcar, first of that great family who defied and challenged the Roman legions, landed in the Peninsula 236 B.C. His armies carried all before them; before a decade had elapsed all the tribes south of the river Ebro had acknowledged his supremacy. Hasdrubal, by his conciliatory methods, secured the active support of the inhabitants of the Peninsula, and established the centre of his power in a harbour town which he called Cartagena. On his death Hamilcar's son, Hannibal, was chosen to succeed him. In 219 B.C. he considered the time ripe for his colossal attack on the Roman power, and provoked the outbreak of the second Punic war by attacking Saguntum, a town on the east coast which had placed itself under the special protection of Rome. The desperate and gallant resistance of the Saguntines did not prevent the sack of their town by the Carthaginians. Hannibal, noting the stimulus given to his troops by this victory, mustered his forces, which included a corps of forty elephants, and set out on his intrepid march across the Alps into Italy. Rome, goaded into action, sent her fleet and her legions to attack Hannibal's base in Spain.

The Roman general Scipio led the army and captured Cartagena. His powers of conciliation were such that within a few years the Iberians acknowledged the power of Rome. One by one the Carthaginians' strongholds fell, and they themselves were finally forced across the straits into Africa in 205 B.C. Thus came the Romans to Spain.

CHAPTER II

Roman Spain—206 B.C.—476 A.D.

THE Romans had come to Spain to deliver themselves from the power of Carthage. They remained to conquer. Here they found no easy task, for it was not one but many peoples which had to be subdued. The mountain ramparts protected the tribes and muffled the reverberations of the Roman victories. For these reasons the conquest took nearly two hundred years to complete.

The most famous of their opponents was a shepherd lad from Lusitania, Viriato. For ten years he led with consummate courage and daring the stout resistance offered to the Roman legions in the west. Despairing of his capture in open combat, the Romans finally caused him to be assassinated, and after his death the resistance of the tribes was gradually quelled.

One city, however, became a centre of opposition and a refuge for all elements of independence. This was Numancia, a city which stood near the present city of Soria on the river Douro. The strength of its strategical position and the determination of its resistance to Rome were such that several armies were driven back from before its walls. At last the Romans encircled the town at some distance and set up a rigid blockade. Eight long months the gallant citizens held out against this relentless siege. Then, preferring death to loss of liberty, they set fire to the town, and all of them died fighting or in the flames. It was not till over a century later that the north-

ern portion of the Peninsula came under the domination of Rome. Then in 25 B.C. the Emperor Augustus sent a fleet to the present summer resort of Santander, then called *Portus Victoriæ*, to subdue the wild Cantabrian tribes. Now with the exception of Biscay all Spain was under Roman rule, and after the horrors of conquest came the benefits of the Roman genius for government.

The effects of Roman rule in Spain have never been obliterated. The legal code which the Romans introduced was so just and wise that the laws of Spain today, like those of neighbouring countries, have been founded on it. Roads were built and still form part of the highways; and the camps set up all over the country developed later into thriving towns, many of which have names familiar to our ears: Saragossa, Merida, Lugo and many others.

It was in the time of the Emperors that Spain prospered most. The great Hadrian came from Italica near Seville, and we may be sure that his interest in defending Britain from the Picts, or in building his tomb in Rome, did not cause him to neglect the concerns of the land of his birth. Marcus Aurelius also came from Spain, and likewise Theodosius.

The country was ruled by the prefect of Gaul and for purposes of administration was divided into seven provinces: Lusitania, Tarracenense, Betica, Baleares, Mauretania, Cartaginense and Galicia.

Fruit trees, wheat, the vine and the olive covered the fertile plains; large quantities of minerals were extracted from the mines. On the hills the Merino sheep nibbled the short, coarse grass, and their long wool was a source of wealth to the country. Schools were set up, not only for the study of books, but for the pursuance of games

and sports, so that the ideal "*Mens sana in corpore sano*" might be realised.

Then came Christianity, but mystery enwraps its advent to the Peninsula. A legend tells us that Saint James the Greater preached Christ throughout Galicia and Lusitania. A yet older legend has it that the Apostle Saint Paul taught and preached in Spain. Be this as it may, it is certain that the seed fell on fertile ground, as the new doctrine spread rapidly. As early as the second century there existed numerous Christian communities in various parts of the country. A noble band of martyrs testified to the strength of their faith during the persecutions of Diocletian. In the year 301 Spain sent no fewer than nineteen bishops to the Council of Illiberis at which provisions for the internal administration of the Church in Spain were framed.

When the See of Saint Peter was finally settled in Rome, Spain was foremost in concurring and in acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope, and at the end of the fourth century she gave one of her sons in the person of San Damaso to the Papal Throne.

Writers, artists and sculptors were not lacking in Spain when the great Roman power was at its height. Mosaics, statues, carvings, arches, and remains of buildings bear testimony to the high state of culture of their time. Seneca and his nephew Lucan from Cordoba made excellent contributions to Latin literature, and the two most important Christian writers of Roman times, Juvenius and Prudentius, both came from the Spanish province.

By degrees, however, the power of the central government in Rome began to disintegrate, and with disintegration came a loosening of the bonds of administration.

Legions were recalled to defend Rome itself from the barbarians who were forcing their way towards it. The barriers of the empire crumbled so that the rising tide of the northern tribes swept them away in its southern rush and inundated the fair lands of the Roman colonists.

Spain now fell a prey to many enemies. The Vandals invaded the country and settled in Andalusia; the Suevi took part of Galicia. The rest of the population broke up into small independent groups incapable of government or of defence. This was the state of the country when the Visigoths swarmed across the Pyrenean ramparts.

CHAPTER III

The Visigoths in Spain

THE Visigoths were a northern people who had settled on the banks of the Danube and from there had penetrated into France. They were Christians, but they were followers of Arius, holding his heretical doctrines which denied the Divinity of Christ. The question of their religion was a primary factor in their history. They spread over Gaul, but the Catholic Franks refused to recognise a heretic sovereign and rose against them. Pushed from the north they expanded towards the south and poured into Spain, taking Barcelona in 414. From Catalonia the Visigoths proceeded to overrun Spain, driving the Vandals of Andalusia to the north of Africa where they settled in the Riff, but failed to dislodge the Suevi from the mountain fastnesses of Galicia. The Franks, more and more impatient of their yoke, rose up under their King Clovis and won a notable victory near Poitiers. As a result the Visigoths were forced to retire into Spain, though they still retained the southern part of France.

Throughout the sixth century wars continued between Visigoths and Hispano-Romans with little intermission. An invading Ostrogoth from the east of Europe established his power in the south at Cartagena and maintained his position with the help of his Byzantine troops (567-586). Liuvigildo carried Visigoth arms into Galicia and into the Cantabrian region. He was a great soldier, but unfortunately a poor ruler. His son Her-

menegildo was converted to Catholicism by the saintly bishop of Seville, San Leandro, and the Catholics of Spain rallied round him against his heretic father. Civil war ensued. It ended in the capture and death of Hermenegildo, which served to stiffen further the Catholic opposition and general hatred of the heretical monarchs.

Liuvigildo was succeeded by his son Recaudo, and now the sacrifice of Hermenegildo bore fruit. Recaudo, moved by the example of his brother, and enlightened by the teaching of San Leandro, solemnly abjured Arianism in the third Council of Toledo, and established Catholicism as the religion of the country. This opened the way for the possible blending of the two races, a process which was further promoted by the adoption of Latin for use in both Church and State. The Visigoths added to Latin a number of their own words, and this mixture contributed later to the richness of the Castilian tongue.

The Church Councils provided a model which was adopted for administrative purposes. From this time councils were summoned to discuss the concerns of the country, and on these occasions the King with his nobles joined the clergy in their deliberations. A code of laws known as the *Fuero Juzgo* was drawn up, founded on Roman law and Visigoth custom.

Shipyards were developed in order that a fleet might be kept in action to defend the country against the Saracens who now began to harry and raid the southern coast.

Education flourished in two great schools, one founded by San Leandro in Seville and the other by San Ildefonso in Toledo. Both Greek and Latin flourished at the two famous centres of learning. San Isidoro, the brother of San Leandro, one of the great thinkers of the ages, compiled an encyclopædia which formed the basis

of teaching for several centuries. He also composed church music which has survived to the present time and is called Mozarabic music because it was first used in the Mozarabic churches under Arab rule.

The Visigoths were devoid of the power to enforce order or to appreciate its advantages. Their monarchy was essentially a military institution. The King was the ruler of the host, and when he was not at war he exercised administrative and legislative powers. The land was divided into provinces and sections which were ruled by his generals, the dukes and counts. The monarchy was elective, and in spite of the efforts of several kings to make it hereditary it remained so throughout the Visigoth period. The interval of the election was an excellent opportunity of freedom for the nobles, and their entire lack of political sense prevented their relinquishing a possibility of private gain for the sake of the general good. They were uncultured soldiers ruling over a civilised population imbued with the culture of Rome and of the Church. Inasmuch as they allowed the teaching of the Church to have sway, they drew nearer to their subjects. Some attempt was made to unite the jarring elements, and, with union, the Visigoths grew more successful and prosperous. Otherwise the only contribution they made to culture was their work in gold and precious stones; some beautiful examples of these are to be seen in the Royal Armoury in Madrid and in the Cluny Museum in Paris. They also introduced new forms of architecture, the most important being the horse-shoe arch.

Suintila (621-631) was the first Visigoth King to reign over the whole Peninsula, for he dislodged the Byzantines who had settled round Cartagena a century earlier, and even followed them to Africa, penetrating into Mau-



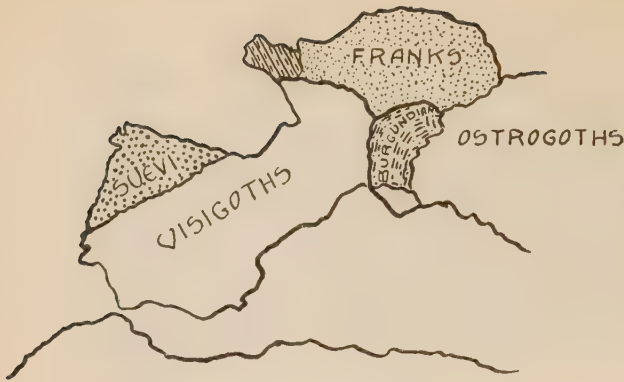
VISIGOTH ARCH

retania. (672-680) Wamba was another of the great warrior kings. His energy in suppressing rebellion, in reducing his subjects to the north of the Pyrenees to obedience to his rule, bestowed upon him a reputation for bravery and daring, and his feats soon passed into legend. He was poisoned by his nobles who were jealous of his power. After his death the facts of history recede into the maze of strife and confusion into which the whole country was swept. The coasts were no longer defended, laws were not enforced, and petty jealousies and rivalries became the cause of bitter struggle.

When Rodrigo was elected King in 710, the sons of his predecessor Witeza, disappointed in their ambition to secure the throne for themselves, determined to wrest it from the new King. To help them in their enterprise they called to their aid the Arabs of Mauretania, who landed under their leader Tarik at Algeciras in 710. Rodrigo gathered his followers, and, marching quickly south, met Tarik on the shores of Lake Janda. Rodrigo was defeated at the battle of Guadalete, and was forced to retire. Meanwhile Tarik advanced, meeting with little resistance, for Rodrigo had but few supporters. For the Arabs the fresh lush land of Andalusia was a welcome refuge, a happy means of expansion. As they marched through it, feeling behind them the push of the coming tribes moving along the southern shores of the Mediterranean, they coveted it. It lay before them an enticing and an easy prize. Cordoba fell, and then Seville, and finally the capital Toledo.

In 712 reinforcements of Arabs streamed across from Africa under the leadership of Muza, governor of Mauretania. Their hold on their new possession was consolidated, and the last Visigoth King died fighting in the

battle of Segojuela in 713. The shattered army took refuge in the wild mountain fastnesses of the Cantabrian coast. Here the Visigoth nobles reorganised their meagre forces and chose Pelayo from among their number to be King in succession to Rodrigo. Arab arms even penetrated into the mountain regions. The invaders met with a severe defeat at Covadonga and were forced to retire, leaving Pelayo in possession of the hill country of Asturias.



5th Century



8th Century



11th Century



12th Century



13th Century



15th Century

CHAPTER IV

The Arab Occupation and the Reconquest — 718 — 1037

IN the year 718 there were in Spain two states, the Arab power which stretched south, east and west, and the Christian, which perched on the mountains of the north. The Arabs who had thus conquered with comparative ease this great land were destined to retain their hold on it for eight long centuries. But the handful of Visigoth nobles who made their stand at Covadonga and prevented the extinction of Christianity throughout the Peninsula were the ultimate conquerors. Their example of courage and resistance was not lost, and the task of regaining the land was not relinquished. It is this gradual recovery of the land by the Christians following the dislodging of the Arab which is called the Reconquest, and it was not till the victory of Covadonga was re-enacted at Granada in 1492 that the process was complete.

When Spain was conquered by the Arabs in 718 it was annexed to the province of Mauretania and ruled by an Emir who represented his sovereign, the Caliph of Damascus.

The most famous of these emirs was Abderrahman, who led his army across the Pyrenees and overran France as far north as Tours. Here, however, he came into collision with the Franks under Charles Martel, and after one of the most bloody battles in the annals of

history he was forced to withdraw with the remnants of his army across the Pyrenees.

A revolution in Damascus in the middle of the eighth century, which brought about the overthrow of the Omega dynasty, had important effects in Spain. The only member of the Omega family who succeeded in making good his escape fled to the Peninsula, entered Cordoba and with the consent and support of the Arab population set up an independent emirate. This Abderrahman (756-788) was the first of the independent emirs of Spain.

The difficulties of ruling his vast territories occupied all Abderrahman's time, for among his subjects there were marked differences of race, religion and customs. The Moslems were even divided among themselves. The Arabs would not mix with the Berbers, and often the various Arab tribes refused to associate with each other. "Fortunately for him there was no concerted union between the Arab chiefs who took up arms either to avenge personal grievances or merely to satisfy the impulse of the moment. They realised that only by joining forces could they hope to conquer him, but they were wholly unaccustomed to forming alliances or working in agreement with one another."¹ Among the conquered people were Christians who were allowed to follow their religion and customs on payment of a fine and who were called *Mozárabes*; the *Muladíes*, the children of a Musulman father and a Christian mother; and, in addition, there were the Jews. Constant disturbances between the various elements prevented Abderrahman from making any effort to arrest the development of the Christian kingdom of the north.

To Pelayo had succeeded his son-in-law, Alfonso I,

¹*Historia de los Mussulmanes en España.*

who led Christian armies into León and Portugal, penetrating as far as the Douro. The vast territories which he gained for the Christian cause and the number of churches which he founded won for him the title of the Catholic.

After him came Fruela I, who in 757 founded the town of Oviedo, a good strategic point in the newly acquired territory.

The reign of Abderrahman was further agitated by the invasion of Charlemagne, who came at the request of the Arab governors of Saragossa and other towns in the north. Abderrahman drove back the invading force, and his enterprise was brought to completion by the Christians. As Charlemagne and the flower of the Frankish army were passing through the narrow defile of Roncesvalles the Basques fell upon them. The story of the fight that ensued is told in the *Chanson de Roland*, one of the greatest *Chansons* which the world possesses.

During the reigns of the successors of Abderrahman, Hixen and Al-Hakim, revolts and contentions contrived to disturb the Arab state. The cruelty of Al-Hakim's methods displayed itself in the massacre of four hundred disaffected nobles of Toledo during a banquet; an event which is referred to as the "Toledo Night."

Meanwhile the Franks crossed the Pyrenees, and, pushing back the Arabs who had invaded and settled in the country immediately south of the mountains, set up an outlying province which they called Marca Hispanica.

To Al-Hakim succeeded Abderrahman II (822-852) who, being obliged to protect his realm from the attacks of the Norman pirates, set up an arsenal for shipbuilding in Seville and is known in history as the founder of the Arab navy. He was a patron of learning, founded schools,

encouraged building, completed the great mosque of Cordoba which his predecessor and namesake Abderrahman I had begun, paved and lighted the city of Cordoba and was himself both a poet and musician.

It was during this reign that the Arabs first persecuted the Christians and the Mozárabic church received its baptism of blood. Many Mozárabes were martyred, the young virgins Saints Flora and Maria, Saint Prefecto, the merchant Saint John. The persecution was renewed by Abderrahman's son Mohammed (852-886) when Saint Eulogio the archbishop of Toledo died for the faith.

The reign of Mohammed was marked by the rebellion of the Muladíes under Omar-ben-Hafsun. Omar became a Christian, adopted the name of Samuel and set up an independent state in Bobastio in the south, where the justice and good government of his rule became proverbial. The state maintained its independence throughout the reign of Mohammed and those of his two successors, only surrendering finally to the power and prestige of Abderrahman III. Its existence constituted a menace to the Arab state and a welcome support to the growing Christian power in the north.

The capital of the Christian kingdom was established at Oviedo by Alfonso II (791-842). His court here resembled that of the Visigoth kings in Toledo, his laws were those contained in the *Fuero Juzgo*, and the administration of his realm to which he had added the Province of Galicia was similar to that of his predecessors.

The finding of the tomb of the Apostle Saint James toward the year 850 constitutes the most important event of his reign. The great discovery is described by the sixteenth century historian Padre Mariano: "Persons

of importance and high repute asserted that in a neighbouring wood lights were to be seen during the night. The holy Bishop feared that all this might be a delusion, but nevertheless, wishing to ascertain the truth, he went himself in person and there with his own eyes he saw the lights shining all around. Having ordered the wood to be cut down, he found on excavating a mound of earth a marble vault and within it the sacred tomb. . . . The Bishop, wishing to apprise the King of what had happened, set off for the Court without delay. The King was holy and pious, and in addition to his other virtues he was deeply zealous in propagating religious worship. He repaired in person to the spot and saw with his own eyes all that he had heard. His joy was unbounded. He ordered forthwith that a church dedicated to Saint James should be built.”² The Christians thus possessed the precious relic of their patron in their midst, an incentive to courage and perseverance in their resistance to the Moslem. A church was built on the site of the tomb, and thus was founded the famous shrine of Santiago de Compostela or Campus Apostle.

The war was now no longer a conflict between Goth and Arab, but rather a desperate struggle between Christian and Moslem. The power of the Emir Mohammed was crippled by the rebellion of Omar which gave Alfonso III (886-911) the opportunity to extend his possessions by taking the city of Zamora in the west and by the invasion of the land of Castile on the east, where he founded the city of Burgos. He moved his capital to the walled town of León which, with the in-

²Padre Juan de Mariano, *Historia de España*.

crease of territories, had come to occupy a central rather than an outlying position. His reign was succeeded by a time of strife and discord which led to the division of the kingdom and a consequent weakening of the government and administration. The Normans harried the coasts, the nobles engaged in internal strife and the way was opened to the Arabs whose power now reached its height.

Abderrahman III (912-961) was the greatest of all the Arab rulers. Restoring order within his realms he carried his arms into the north, compelling the Christians to respect his sovereignty and possessions. He took the title of Caliph. His capital, Cordoba, became one of the centres of the world, famous for the magnificence of its palaces, its mosques, its gardens, as well as for the number of scholars, mathematicians and physicians who gathered there. Agriculture flourished there, crops of rice, sugar and fruit were raised, silk, pottery, leather and other industrial arts were carried on, and Malaga, Jaen and Seville became flourishing ports.

During the reign of Hixen II (976-1013) Arab arts and letters flourished. The Caliph himself was a scholar. He built the splendid palace and suburb of Az-zahra outside Cordoba, and the ruins of the buildings as they are gradually being excavated reveal the beauty and perfection of architectural design, the richness of the tile decoration and of the mosaics, and the artistic splendour of the work in bronze, ivory and precious metals. Here came ambassadors from foreign lands, from Germany, from Constantinople, from France and Italy to seek the alliance of the sovereign whose armies held sway in the Peninsula, and whose fleets swept the Mediterranean.



THE ALHAMBRA

THE MOSQUE OF CORDOBA



GRANADA

They were dazzled by the splendour of city and garden, of mosque and palace and of all the gorgeous surroundings of the monarch himself, the beauty of his flowers and pleasure grounds with the fountain of quicksilver which sparkled under sun and moon.

He sent agents to all the cities of the East, Cairo, Damascus, Bagdad, to collect or copy rare and precious manuscripts. His library is said to have contained some four hundred thousand volumes, many of which were annotated by the Caliph himself. A host of binders, copyists and miniaturists were employed in the library and installed in the palace itself.

A university was established in the mosque at Cordoba where grammar and rhetoric were taught by learned scholars. Primary education also was fostered. Schools flourished, and the monarch himself founded twenty-seven schools where education was given to the children of the poor at the royal expense.

The use of paper instead of vellum for books considerably reduced their price with the result that reading was made accessible to a fair proportion of the people.

Women also studied poetry and the arts, and many were skilled in grammar, arithmetic and science. There existed in Seville a school for the education of girls of high position. Some wrote poetry and history, and one, Lobna, was employed by Hixen in his library and was entrusted with the sovereign's private correspondence.

The Caliph's power, however, was overshadowed by that of his minister, Almanzor, a brilliant general who covered himself with glory in his campaigns against the northern states. He captured Zamora and León and destroyed Santiago. He also took Pamplona, the princi-

pal town of the growing state of Navarre, and entered Barcelona, one of the counties of the Marca Hispanica which had shaken off the yoke of the Franks in 874. He was the scourge of the Christians, who held him in a deadly fear which was allayed only by his death. The annals of Burgos contain his epitaph, "In 1002 died Almanzor and was buried in the deepest hell."

After the death of Almanzor the power of the Caliphs flickered out. Their dominions broke up into a number of small states which came to be known as the kingdoms of Taifas, and in 1031 the Caliphate of Cordoba came to an end.

Meanwhile Alfonso V of León (999-1027) restored law and order in his kingdom, reorganized the government and granted a charter to the town of León, the first document of its kind in Spanish history. He was succeeded by his son Bermudo (1027-1037), the last of the kings of León.

With the gradual extinction of the Arab power in the south there emerged in the north a new state, the kingdom of Navarre, which developed under the rule of Sancho the Great (1000-1035). He married a sister of that Count Garcia of Castile whose independence was recognized by the sovereign of León. On the death of Count Garcia, Sancho laid claim to Castile, and the dispute which ensued between him and Bermudo of León was settled only by the marriage of Bermudo's sister, Sancha, to Sancho's son Ferdinand.

In 1035 Sancho the Great died, leaving a will which is one of the most significant documents of history. He divided his territories among his sons. To Garcia he left Navarre, to Ferdinand, Castile, and to Ramiro, Ara-

gon. Thus were brought into existence the two greatest realms of Spain. Henceforth it is the advance and development of Castile and Aragon which constitutes the main theme in the history of Spain, and their fusion at the end of the fifteenth century led directly to the final achievement of the Reconquest.

Two years later, in 1037, Bermudo III died, and León became part of the realm of his brother-in-law, Ferdinand I of Castile.

CHAPTER V

The Development of Castile

THE union of Castile and León under Ferdinand I in 1037 contributed to the development of the Christian power in Spain, and had this union been a permanent one, consolidation of that power at the expense of the Mussulman invaders might have been effected considerably earlier.

The history of Castile in mediæval times presents a confused medley of conflicting interests. Between gallant and fervent campaigns against the Mussulman there are lapses into alliance of Cross and Crescent in order to repulse threatening neighbours or to subdue unruly subjects. There was continual friction between the various elements which composed the growing state and so loose was the tie which bound them that they constantly tended to dis-aggregate as soon as the force of cohesion supplied by a strong central government was diminished. Hence the reigns of weak kings or the periods of the minority of the sovereign were always times of disruption and distress.

The old Visigoth monarchy had been hereditary. After the Reconquest this principle no longer obtained, and many of the sovereigns, following the example set by Charlemagne, parcelled out their states, at their death, to their sons. This procedure invariably gave rise to strife and disorder arising from the clash of envy, and ambition of petty rulers, and progress was arrested by internecine struggles and private quarrels. Amid the din and clang of these troublous times the figures of several monarchs

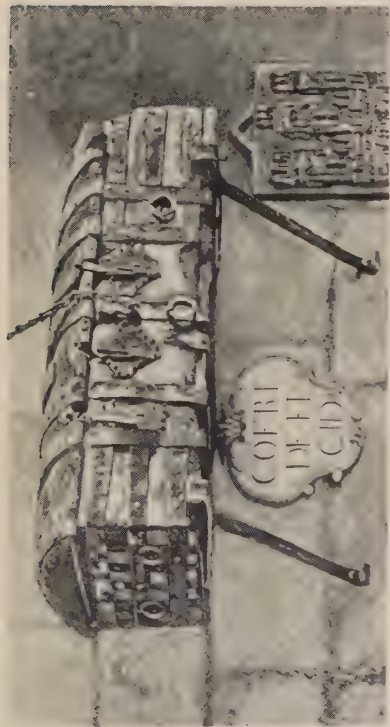
appear in bold relief as rulers possessed of deep determination and indomitable will, and these succeeded in achieving a definite advance in the growth and expansion of Castile.

Ferdinand I summoned a council of the realm in Co-yanza where he satisfied all the liberties and privileges granted by his predecessors and declared his intention to rule in accordance with the laws contained in the old Goth code known as the *Fuero Juzgo*. A period of internecine warfare ensued on his death as a consequence of his having divided his realms between his children. This came to an end with the accession to the throne of Castile of his second son Alfonso VI to whom he had left León. A description of Alfonso is given in the chronicle of Archbishop Jimenez de Rada. "He was benignant and noble—of high virtue and distinction. Never in his days was justice diminished; hard work was limited; those who wept were consoled and faith increased; the kingdom was extended; the people grew more enterprising and more daring . . . The time that was not spent in battling for the love of God was considered by him as wasted." Having established order in his realms Alfonso mustered his forces and besieged the Moorish capital of Toledo in 1085. After a siege which, in spite of the almost impregnable position of the town, lasted but a few months Alfonso entered Toledo, thereby advancing the Christian frontiers to the river Tagus. Alfonso was supported in his enterprise by the Counts of Burgundy, on one of whom he bestowed the hand of his daughter Teresa with the territory between the rivers Miño and Tagus to be held in fief. Thus came into existence the province of Portugal, of which Teresa's son was later recognised as King.

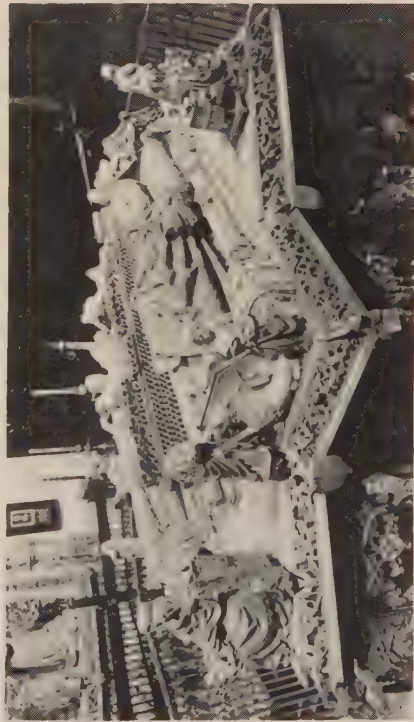
The taking of Toledo spread panic and dismay among

the Moorish rulers in the south, and pressed by the menace of a Castilian monarch on the Tagus they summoned to their aid the Almoravid Emperor Yussuf-ben-Takfin whose territories stretched across the north of Africa. The Almoravides thereupon came pouring across the straits into the Peninsula and defeated the Christians at Zalaca and later at Ucles where to the intense grief of the King his only son and heir Don Sancho was killed. They were unable, however, to retake Toledo, and turning upon the kingdoms of Taifas, they possessed themselves of their territories and settled down there.

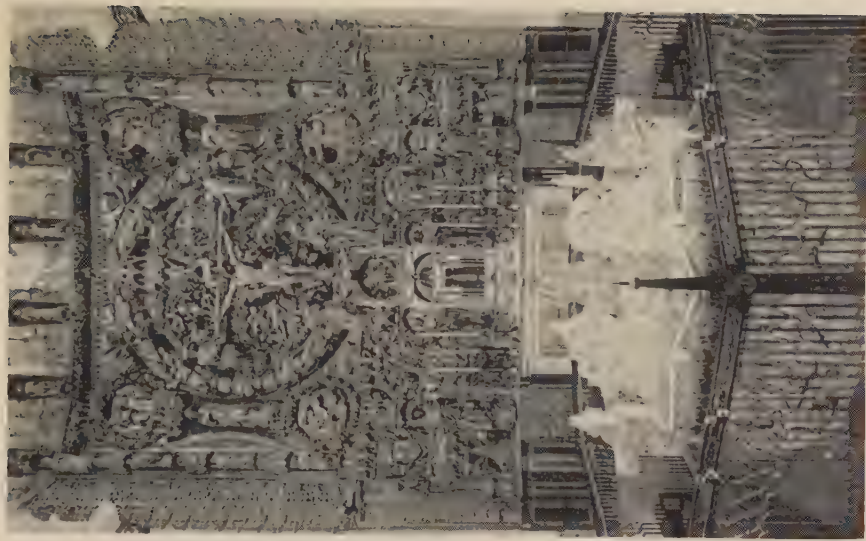
In Valencia however they came into collision with one of the most famous personages in Spanish history and were forced to retire. This was no less a person than the Cid Campeador, the hero of song and story. Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar came from the country near Burgos and had earned the title of Campeador by his bravery in the wars between the sons of Ferdinand I, Sancho and Alfonso, later Alfonso VI. As a result of a disagreement with the King, Rodrigo was exiled and left the court of Alfonso VI. Accompanied by a small body of knights he sallied forth to seek adventure. He found it in the service of the Moorish King of Saragossa where the Mussulmans, honouring him for his reckless courage and gallant feats of arms, addressed him as Sidi or Mio Cid. He intervened on behalf of the ruler of Valencia, an ally of the King of Saragossa, who was attacked by Alfonso VI, and laid waste the rich lands of the Rioja in Castilian territory. Later he himself conquered Valencia, and there he ruled independently, repulsing the attacks of his neighbours and stemming the tide of the Almoravides whose advance not only menaced Castile but threatened to engulf the struggling Christian states in the east of the



Upper—THE CID'S CASKET



Lower—TOMBS OF JOHN II AND ISABELLA



HIGH ALTAR. BURGOS

Peninsula. At the death of the Cid in 1099 his wife Doña Jimena gallantly held out against the repeated attacks of her Moorish neighbours, and in this she was supported by Alfonso VI. After a resistance of three years, unable to withstand the Moorish power, the King set fire to Valencia and conveyed Doña Jimena to shelter and security in Burgos. The fame of the Cid spread beyond the Pyrenees even in his own time. His death was recorded by a monk at the Abbey of Moissac. "In Spain, within the borders of Valencia, has died the Count Rodrigo, and his death has caused the greatest sorrow to Christianity and the greatest joy to the pagans."¹ His doings were proclaimed by the trouvères and became the subject of the first great literary work in Spain. The *Epic of the Cid* is essentially a creation of Spanish genius; the hero is a real person; his deeds are recorded in history. The love of the real and the actual as opposed to the abstract which distinguishes the literature of Spain at the acme of its development is here apparent at its very birth. Also the characteristics of the Cid himself may be said to be those of the people from which he sprung. His decided individualism, his haughty independence, his enterprise, his isolated heroism, his spontaneity, his sudden bursts of energy—all these are qualities which go to make up the essence of Spanish genius.

Alfonso VI died in 1109, leaving his crown to his daughter Urraca, married to Alfonso I of Aragon. Civil war broke out among the nobles, whose power had been growing with the acquisition of new territories due to the gradual extension of the frontiers of the kingdom. Among the most powerful of these magnates was the Bishop of Santiago de Compostela who owned extensive territories

¹Quoted. Aguado Bleye, *Historia de España*.

in Galicia with an important seaboard. Even the King's representatives could not enter his dominions without his permission. The duty of raising an armed contingent to fight for the King was easily translated into the right to maintain an army. Bishop Gelmirez was appointed guardian to Urraca's infant son Alfonso, and defended his position in the wars that took place during her reign. He bought ships from the Genoese and started ship-building in one of the harbours within his territories. In this way he mustered a fleet to defend his coasts from the onslaughts of the Moorish pirates. From his time dates the rise in importance of Santiago de Compostela, which came to occupy a position of international prominence during the Middle Ages. The pilgrimages to the shrine of Santiago, which Bishop Gelmirez was the first to conceive and to organise, linked Spain with the rest of Europe and even with the countries beyond the Urals, and while they spread her fame abroad, brought within her frontiers those influences which lay at the mainspring of life across the Pyrenees. The learning and culture of the Benedictines of Cluny had spread rapidly in France and had made its way into Castile where it was further favoured by the marriage of Alfonso VI to the daughter of the Duke of Burgundy. On her account the Cluny monks were invited to make a foundation in Spain, and again through her influence Bishop Bernard, one of their community, was named first Archbishop of Toledo. They actively supported Pope Gregory VII in his efforts to bring the ritual and discipline of the Church in various countries into conformity with that of Rome, and it was largely their influence that prevailed on Alfonso VI to order the suppression of the old Mozarab or Visigoth rubric throughout his realm in favour of the Roman

ritual. He permitted this rite to be observed in certain specified churches where it is followed to the present day. The Cluniacs found an enthusiastic supporter in Bishop Gelmirez, and they in turn established the organising centre for the pilgrimage to the shrine of Santiago at the monastery of Cluny. The route which the pilgrims were to follow was carefully planned out; hostelries were established at various points on the way and efforts made to protect the pilgrims from robbery and aggression. A hospice for the sick and indigent was established at León, and tradition has it that thirteen knights bearing the Cross and badge of St. James renounced all temporal honours and worldly pomp in order to devote themselves to the care of the pilgrims. From this company is said to have sprung the Crusading Order of the Knights of Santiago which was organised and formally approved by Rome towards the end of the twelfth century. The Pope Calixtus II, the uncle of the young Infante, later Alfonso VII, and a close friend of his guardian, Bishop Gelmirez, wrote a guide for pilgrims of which many copies were made and which in addition to directions as to the route gave advice as to water and food. The road from the Pyrenees to Santiago was called the *Camino Frances* and it served as a channel along which culture and learning ebbed and flowed. The use of Latin by scholars of every country provided a medium by which knowledge could be transmitted with ease between the Peninsula and the rest of Europe. The European ideal of imperialism found concrete expression in the assumption by Alfonso VII of the title of Emperor. He was crowned in León in 1126, and he hoped to make this dignity effective by absorbing under his sway not only the territory occupied by the Mussulmans, but also the kingdoms of Navarre and

Aragon. His expeditions into Andalusia brought little lasting result; and Aragon and Navarre stoutly resisted all attempts to make his pretensions effective and asserted and maintained their independence. He made an alliance with the French King, St. Louis, who was married to his daughter, Blanche of Castile. Louis himself came on pilgrimage to Santiago and was met by Alfonso at Burgos "surrounded by a long train of counts and rich men on splendid horses and with great treasure so that Louis marvelled." After his visit to the shrine the French King was conducted to Toledo where he assisted at a meeting of the Cortes and was offered many precious jewels by Alfonso. Louis accepted only a carbuncle for the shrine of the Crown of Thorns at St. Denis.

At the death of Alfonso VII Castile and León were again divided. Alfonso's elder son, Sancho, became ruler of Castile, while his other son, Ferdinand, succeeded to the kingdom of León. The reign of Sancho III is important for the foundation of the military Order of the Knights of Calatrava in 1157. The fortress of Calatrava was bravely and successfully defended by Cistercian monks against the attacks of the Almohades who had ousted the Almoravides from Africa and captured their territories in the Peninsula. In recognition of the services rendered by the Abbot Raymond and his Christian Knights the King granted them the fortress and the surrounding territory. This was the origin of the Crusading Order of the Knights of Calatrava, which was organised originally on the basis of the Cistercian rule, the warriors forming a branch of the monastic community.

Sancho was succeeded by his son, Alfonso VIII, during whose long minority Castile was rent by dissensions caused by rivalries between the various branches of the

nobility. The young King, on reaching majority, succeeded in restoring order with the help of the towns, principally Avila and Toledo. Thereupon he set about organising a campaign against the Moors.

At the beginning of the century the empire of the Almoravides had been broken up and their power had passed to the Berber tribe of Almohades who had established themselves in Morocco and in the south of Spain. The capture of Cuenca in 1177 by Alfonso VIII assisted by the King of Aragon, and his victorious incursions into Jaen and Cordoba, aroused the Almohade Emperor to action, and he inflicted a crushing defeat on the King of Castile on the field of Alarcos. Alfonso VIII retired to reorganise his forces. A mighty crusade was proclaimed by Pope Innocent III. The Archbishop of Toledo, Jimenez de Rada, scholar and chronicler, travelled through France and Germany, calling Christians to arm against the growing force of the Almohades. Agreements were made between Alfonso and the Kings of Aragon and Navarre and with those of León and of Portugal. In the blazing days of June in the year 1212 there began to assemble in the King's grounds on the borders of the Tagus troops from every part of the Peninsula under their respective rulers. Only the Kings of León and of Portugal were absent. Here also came the Bishops of Bordeaux and Nantes with a goodly company, doughty knights from Lombardy and Provence—the members of the Crusading Orders. When all were assembled the gallant throng sallied forth on the march south. For reasons which have never been clearly ascertained dissensions and jealousies rent the host, the burning sun and continual hardships spread discouragement and misgiving, and before a month had passed the greater number of those

who had crossed the Pyrenees so full of courage and high determination separated themselves from the army and returned to their homes. At last on the sixteenth of June the Christian armies, having crossed the Sierra Morena, came face to face with the Moors at Las Navas de Tolosa and gave battle. The result of the violent struggle which ensued was a complete victory for the King of Castile and his allies. The Moors were put to flight and Alfonso with his troops advanced into Andalusia, capturing towns and fortresses and penetrating as far as Baeza, which was found completely deserted. This victory is one of the most outstanding events of the Reconquest. The whole Church celebrated it in the establishment of the feast of the Triumph of the True Cross. Many of the knights who took part in it set the fact on record by incorporating St. Andrew's Cross on their escutcheons. A tapestry with verses from the Koran which probably came from the tent of the Almohade Emperor was presented by Alfonso to the Monastery of Las Huelgas near Burgos, which had been founded by him. It hangs there to-day near his tomb and that of his English wife, Eleanor Plantagenet. At Alfonso's death in 1214, Rodrigo, Bishop of Valencia, voiced the general mourning for a revered sovereign, bewailing that (with him) "were buried valour, liberality, courtesy, wisdom and modesty."² Alfonso possessed a special claim to the recognition of this town on the Camino Frances, where he had raised the ancient schools to the status of a university and inaugurated the teaching of Civil and Canon Law.

Henry I, Alfonso's infant son who succeeded him on the throne, survived him only three years. At his death the crown passed to Ferdinand, son of Alfonso IX of

²*Doc. Ined.*

León, and of Doña Berenguela, daughter of Alfonso VIII of Castile. Ferdinand III ascended the throne of Castile in 1217, and some years later, in 1230, he inherited the crown of León. The two kingdoms were thus definitely united. The campaign against the Moors was pushed on with vigour and determination. Cordoba was taken, the kingdom of Murcia submitted to Castile, Jaen was captured, and the King of Granada was forced to pay tribute. At last in 1248 Seville was besieged. An army encamped around it while ships from the whale fisheries on the Cantabrian coast sailed up the river Guadalquivir, dispersed the Moorish fleet, and shut off the town from all communication by water. The city capitulated, and Ferdinand, bearing on his saddle bow the ivory statue of Our Lady of Battles, took possession of it at the head of his army. There followed the submission of all the towns in the vicinity and of those along the coast as far as Cadiz. He attempted the consolidation of his conquests by the capture of the Straits of Gibraltar, but the necessary naval force was not forthcoming.

Ferdinand III, one of the greatest kings who ever reigned in Castile, set about the immense work of re-organisation and reform within his dominions. His subjects included a wide diversity of peoples and of classes living under different laws and obeying distinct traditions. The great magnates had been granted land by former sovereigns in return for their help in conquest. This grant carried with it the right to raise troops, to rule their vassals and to administer justice in a tyrannical manner. There existed also a class of lesser nobility, without land, followers of the profession of arms, who were willing to fight for anyone who paid them. In face of this danger arising from an unruly nobility the King elicited the sup-

port of the middle classes by granting rights and liberties to the towns, protecting the civil rights of the burghers and allowing them a wide measure of independence in the government of their townships. There was a considerable Jewish population which grew and prospered during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They were chiefly doctors and bankers, and they constantly acted as interpreters between Moors and Christians, as well as between the peoples of the various states. Besides these there were the Mudéjars or Moriscos—Moors who remained in the country which had been wrung from the Mussulman conquerors, and who lived in separate communities called Aljamas under Christian rulers. Here they industriously pursued their occupations, tilling the soil, building in brick and plaster, and keeping alive the industrial arts of which they were masters. They were not allowed to intermarry with Christians, but they were permitted to practice their religion apart. They were obliged to grow beards, and the wearing of certain materials was forbidden them. The Mozárabes formed important groups in certain parts of the country, notably at Toledo. They were descendants of those Christians of Visigoth times who had submitted to the Arab conquerors while preserving their faith and their own particular laws and privileges. When the territory in which they dwelt was recaptured from the Moors they continued to live in separate communities, while their Christian rulers permitted them to preserve their customs and traditions. All these discrepancies and diversities tended to break up the Christian kingdom into a multiplicity of small units, and constituted a continual obstacle to the formation of a strong united state.

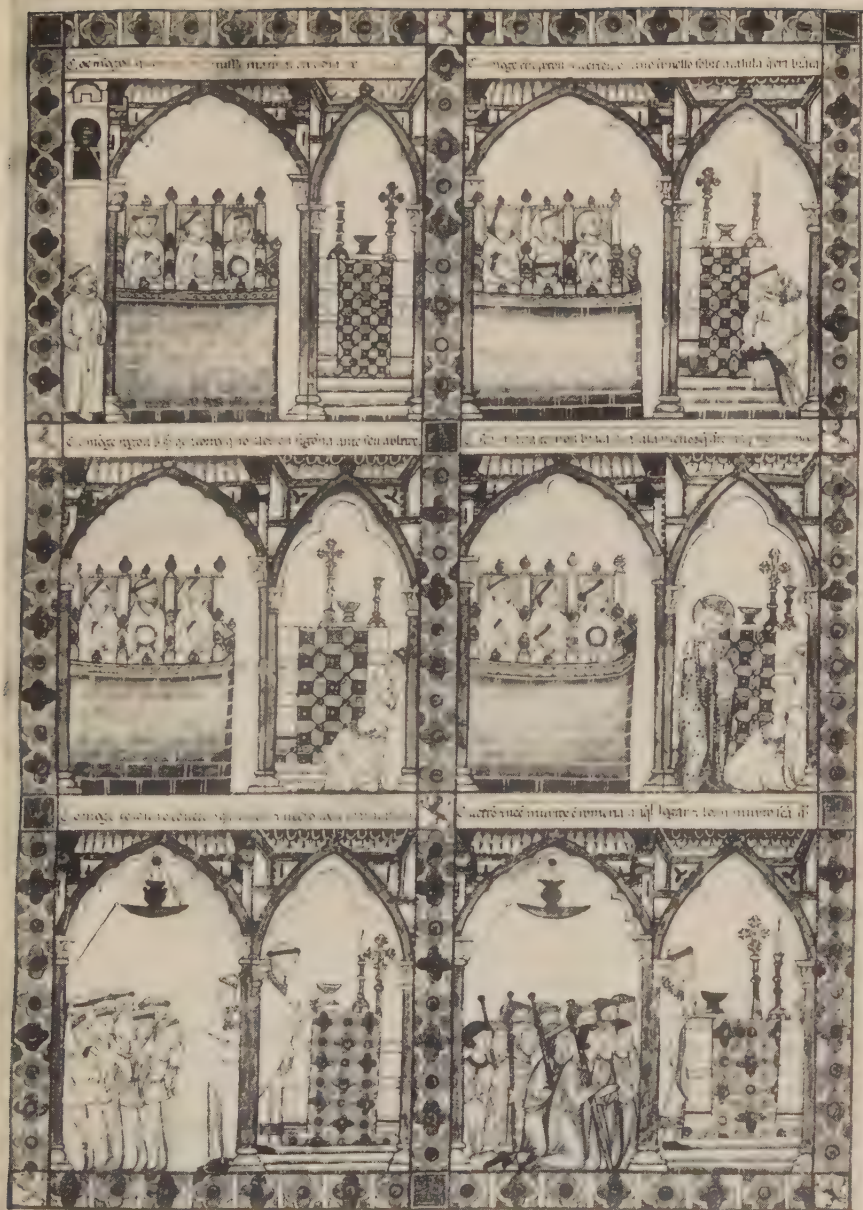
Ferdinand III embarked on the immense work of reform which such diversity and disunion demanded. He

ordered that the *Fuero Juzgo* should be translated into Romance, for the knowledge of Latin had declined and few could now understand it. A body of men was appointed to study the laws and to advise the King upon them, and this may be regarded as the origin of the Council of Castile. Judges were sent out to the various provinces to see that the laws contained in the old Gothic Code, the *Fuero Juzgo*, were applied. The power of the towns was increased; the people were encouraged to take an interest in agriculture and commerce. The startling contrast between the poverty and apathy in the villages of Castile and the busy, prosperous life in those of Andalusia where industry and science made them centres of production showed the necessity for stimulating municipal vitality and enterprise. Ferdinand is regarded as the founder of the Spanish navy. The taking of Seville had demonstrated the importance of this branch of defence, and a shipyard was opened in Seville. A meeting of the Cortes was summoned in Seville, to which came the bishops, nobles and good men of the towns to consult on economic matters. This Cortes was a development of the *Curia Plena* which had assembled in León in 1188, and which the sovereigns undertook to consult on questions of making war or concluding treaties. Ferdinand laid the foundations of the great Gothic cathedrals of Burgos and Toledo. He protected and fostered schools and universities. In view of his immense work for Christianity and of his exemplary life, the Church honours him as San Fernando.

Alfonso X succeeded his father on the throne in 1252. The first years of his reign were occupied in fighting the Moors, from whom he wrested the fortresses of Cartagena and Cadiz, and also Niebla, where it is recorded that

the Moors used gunpowder. But a rising of the Moors of Murcia and Seville, instigated and supported by the King of Granada, forced Alfonso to come to terms.

At this juncture a number of questions regarding the King's interests abroad distracted the monarch from the more essential enterprise of expelling the Moors from the Peninsula. Chief amongst these was his ambition to be named Emperor—an ambition which 300 years later was realized in one of the most celebrated of his descendants. The immense sums of money which he spent in order to attain this end, his failure to do so, and the utter want of compatibility between his purpose and the aims of his forbears, which had always gained support, and which his father Ferdinand had pushed forward with such brilliance, contributed to make the King very unpopular. The lack of the warlike qualities of his father, and his love of peace which prompted him to temporise and negotiate rather than to strike with determination, resulted in the growth of the turbulence of the nobles, who for want of wars to keep them occupied, roused quarrels and dissensions at home. Meanwhile, unperceived by the majority of his subjects, Alfonso dedicated his time and energy to the widespread reforms and the promotion of learning and the arts which has earned him from posterity the title of the Wise. Judicial reforms were contained in the code known as the Partidas, which he caused to be drawn up. These were destined to abolish all the surviving remnants of obsolete customs and traditions which obtained almost as superstitions in various places. The law of succession was proclaimed, vesting the right to succeed to the throne in the eldest child of the King, male or female, a law which has survived to the present day. The laws of the Partidas provoked widespread op-



PAGE FROM THE BOOK OF THE CANTICLES OF ALFONSO X

position, and it was impossible to apply them to the kingdom as a whole. They were first brought into use in the newly conquered territories and as charters to municipalities. It was left for Alfonso XI at the beginning of the fourteenth century to apply them to the country as a whole. The advance made in the study of legal matters resulted in the formation of a special class of men versed in the law, for legal administration henceforth supposed a degree of learning which the nobles did not possess. The result was the appearance of lawyers nominated by the King, who grew to occupy a position in the State almost as powerful as that of the great magnates themselves. Since they held their power directly from the King, they naturally tended to uphold and increase the power of the royal prerogative. Alfonso himself sat in judgment three days in the week to hear the pleas which were brought before him.

Alfonso was essentially a scholar and a philosopher and it was perhaps in the realm of learning that his influence was most far-reaching. He was a poet and a historian, a chemist and an astronomer. His verse contained in the *Cantigas* was written in the Galician dialect, but his prose works are in a Castilian of singular strength and beauty. The troubadours were welcomed at his court and sang his praises, announcing that "graciousness resides in Castile." He ordered also that documents should henceforth be drawn up in Castilian instead of Latin. This hastened the development of a language which could serve as a means for communication among all classes within the boundaries of his realm. The first Castilian poetry made its appearance at this time, written by the Benedictine monk, Gonzalo de Berceo. The universities received a new stimulus during the reign of

Alfonso. At Salamanca, where a university had been founded in 1215 by Alfonso IX of León, two chairs of physics were established. A plan of studies was drawn up, books were provided for students, and high honours and distinctions were extended to those who excelled in learning.

Toledo had become a centre of learning in the twelfth century. It was the meeting place of scholars from East and West. Here in the gardens of cypress and roses which bordered the Tagus, Arabs, Jews and Greeks assembled. Here came scholars from all over Europe, Gerard of Cremona to translate scores of books, among them the geometry of Euclid; Adelard of Bath, Michael Scotus from Paris and Oxford. Works on science, medicine, mathematics and especially astronomy were translated from the Arabic, treatises on philosophy were drawn up, and the horizons of knowledge, bounded till then by the compendiums of Bede and San Isidro, were removed to distances yet undreamed of. Alfonso invited to Toledo fifty astronomers to draw up the *Tablas Alfonsinas* which would contain all the truths then known regarding their science. Arabs, Jews, Christians, from the countries stretching from Egypt to France, assembled. Existing charts were rectified, and Arab numerals were substituted for Roman.

In Seville, where an observatory had been established in the Giralda in 1196, great importance was given to the study of geography and astronomy. Schools of Latin and Arabic were set up. At the Latin schools grammar and the arts were taught, at the Arab, instruction in mathematics, medicine, astronomy and physics was given in the Arab language. Royal orders provided for the protection of the students: "I command that the masters and

scholars who come here to my school should come safe and sound through all parts of my kingdom and my territories with all their belongings, and that no charge be levied on their books or on any of their possessions and that they study and live in security and peace in this city of Seville.”³ The King surrounded himself with men of learning. As ruler of Murcia during his father’s reign he had become acquainted with Arab scholars, and many of these he invited to his court to consult with them on the compilation of his *Cronica General de España*.

While the King was immersed in these academic pursuits, disorder and dissension spread within his realms. The reforms in the administration of justice which he attempted to introduce raised a storm of opposition, while his failure to carry on the campaign against the Moors evoked feelings of mistrust and contempt. In 1275 the Moors captured Tarifa, and the King’s eldest son, Don Fernando de la Cerda, met his death in marching to its relief. The King thereupon, in accordance with the law of succession which he had himself drawn up, declared the son of Don Fernando his heir. This was the signal for the rebellion of his four sons. The King found support neither from the Cortes nor the towns, and he was obliged to turn to the ruler of Morocco for help. Much of the tragic poignancy of this situation is conveyed in a letter which the King addressed to Alfonso Perez de Guzmán: “I cannot find shelter in my country, nor can I find succour, nor any protector; and so, as in my country there is no one to serve me and help me, I am driven to seek in another land some one who will have compassion for me.”⁴

³Cited by Vicente de la Fuente, *Establecimientos de Enseñanza en España*.

⁴Cited by Gomez de la Sana, *Alfonso el Sabio*.

The death of Alfonso in 1284, in Seville, which had always remained loyal, put an end to the civil war, and the Cortes proclaimed his second son, Sancho, King. During the reign of Sancho IV the kingdom was torn asunder by civil war provoked by the King's brothers and by the children of his elder brother, known as the Infantes de la Cerda. The Moors, taking advantage of the disruption of the Christian state, took possession of the entire coast line from Malaga to the Straits. The King's brother, the Infante John, joined them and attacked Tarifa, which was defended in the name of the King by Alfonso Perez del Guzmán. Unsuccessful in his attempts to take the fortress, the Infante called on Guzmán to parley, and threatened to slay his young son, whom he had in his power, unless he surrendered the fortress. With a sublimity of courage which makes the deed scintillate amid the mists of mediæval history, Guzmán flung his own poniard to the Infante, declaring his readiness to sacrifice his son rather than betray his King. Before the father's eyes the Infante slew the little boy with the weapon that had been thrown to him. Tarifa held out, and the besiegers were forced to retire before the advance of Sancho, who had secured the support of the King of Granada against the invading tribes from Morocco.

Sancho died in 1312, and his son Ferdinand succeeded to the throne and to the strife and dissensions which had disturbed the kingdom throughout his reign.

In view of the young King's tender age—Ferdinand IV was only nine years old when he succeeded to the throne—the country was ruled by his mother, Maria de Molina. The difficulties which she was called upon to face are graphically described in the chronicles of the time. The nobles were divided into bands, and each one claimed a

share in the government and assumed authority in keeping with his power. The people, left without guidance, were timorous and lethargic. Any restless spirit was able to upset everything, as always happens in civil wars. "In cities, towns and villages, in the parts of the country that were peopled and in deserted parts, every kind of wickedness was perpetrated, robbery, assaults, murders, sometimes for the sake of vengeance, sometimes instigated by jealousy; and there was much cruelty shown in these crimes. Houses were attacked, the contents sacked, cattle were stolen and everywhere there was sadness and desolation."⁶ The Queen succeeded in securing the support of the people by abolishing a tax on supplies known as the *sisá*. With the help of burgesses of the towns and of the middle class, Maria de Molina repressed the nobles and preserved the throne for her son, Ferdinand, who during the short years of his reign seems to have repaid his mother with shameful ingratitude.

Alfonso XI succeeded his father, Ferdinand, in 1312. His reign is chiefly famous for his victory over the Moors at the Battle of Salado. This triumph marked the last stage of the expulsion of the Moors from Spain until the final conquest of the Kingdom of Granada. The Moors were again besieging Tarifa. Alfonso secured the help of the Kings of Aragon and of Portugal, and attacked the besieging army on the banks of the river Salado. While the struggle was in progress, the garrison of Tarifa, which had lately been reinforced by a clever ruse, sallied forth from the town and attacked the Moors in the rear. Hemmed in on both sides, the Moorish army was utterly defeated. The chronicler gives a glimpse of the King amid the clash and turmoil of the fight. "This very noble King,

⁶*Cronica de Castilla.*

Don Alfonso of Castile and León, took up his position with a few followers in a hollow where the Moors had collected in great numbers, and the Moors approached and let off the arrows from their bows in among the group that were with him, and one of them pierced the saddle of the horse which he was riding. And the King urged his followers forward, being a man and a lord of stout heart. 'Attack them, for I am the King, Don Alfonso of Castile and León, and now shall I see who are my followers and they shall see what manner of man am I.' The King at this pressed his horse forward and was about to plunge, himself, into the mêlée, when the Archbishop of Toledo, who had followed him throughout the battle, caught his rein and restrained him, pointing out that the Moors were already defeated and that the King was the victor of that glorious fight."⁶ With the rich booty captured at the battle Alfonso XI secured the help of the Genoese fleet, and with their ships and with those of the Catalans laid siege to Algeciras. Knights and squires from England and Germany also came to his assistance, and finally in 1344 the place capitulated.

Alfonso also did much to organise the administration of his kingdom, applying the laws contained in the Partidas, repressing the nobles and establishing order and protecting industry and commerce.

During the reign of Pedro I, surnamed the Cruel, who succeeded his father in 1350, the kingdom was again torn by civil war. The five natural sons of Alfonso XI, the Trastamaras, headed the opposition of the nobles, and assembling around them the discontented elements of the realm, declared themselves in open rebellion. By taking advantage of the petty jealousies which divided the rebels

⁶*Ibid.*

themselves, Pedro succeeded in quelling the rising, and the leaders were punished. Henry Trastamara escaped and fled into Aragon. The King of Aragon agreed to support his claim to the crown of Castile in return for his promise to cede the province of Murcia to Aragon. He also secured the help of the White Companies, soldier adventurers who, under their leader Bertrand Du Guesclin, were willing to fight in any cause. With these forces Henry entered Castile, proclaimed himself King and was crowned at Burgos. Meanwhile Pedro had fled to Aquitaine, where he secured the help of the Black Prince and his English troops. They advanced against the usurper and defeated him at the battle of Navarrete, the English archers playing havoc in the ranks of their enemies. Pedro presented the Black Prince with a magnificent ruby in return for his assistance—the ruby which was later worn by Henry V at Agincourt and is now in the English crown. He was unable, however, to pay the soldiers, and the Prince and his troops declined to give him further help. Henry Trastamara succeeded in raising a new army and again invaded Castile. He defeated Pedro at Montiel and after the battle slew him in single combat.

Henry of Trastamara was now recognised King of Castile, but his title was contested not only by the Kings of Portugal, Navarre and Aragon, but also by the sons of Edward IV of England, the Dukes of Lancaster and York, who had married daughters of Pedro. Henry found an ally in the King of France, the arch-enemy of England, and he was thus able to repulse his enemies and restore some semblance of order in his realms.

During the reign of his son, John I, the Duke of Lancaster renewed his claims to the throne, and with the support of the King of Portugal secured for him a foothold in

the Peninsula. An agreement was finally come to between John and the Duke of Lancaster. The latter consented to the marriage of his daughter, Catherine, to John's son, Henry, the heir to the throne. The line of Trastamara was thus united to the line of Pedro. The young couple were given the title of Prince and Princess of Asturias, the title which has been borne ever since by the heir to the throne of Spain. John I attempted to annex the kingdom of Portugal to his dominions by his marriage to a Portuguese princess. On the death of the King of Portugal it had been agreed that John should succeed to the throne. But the natural antipathy of the Portuguese to Castilian overlordship declared itself on the death of the sovereign, and they resisted the pretensions of the King of Castile with energy and determination. The Portuguese troops gave battle to John's forces at Aljubarrota in 1385, and their bravery and skill was such that they inflicted a crushing defeat on their enemies. The hopes of Castile regarding the annexation of Portugal were thereby extinguished for centuries to come. John I died as a result of a fall from his horse in 1390, leaving the throne to the young Prince of Asturias. Henry was then only eleven years old, and during the three years of his minority the country was disturbed by the disputes of the nobles and the disorders which they occasioned. When he came of age, Henry, who possessed an iron will in his delicate frame, repressed the magnates with severity and restored order.

Henry extended his protection to the Frenchman, Jean de Bethencourt, who set out from La Rochelle in 1402 to conquer the Canary Islands. He returned in two years, having taken possession of four of these islands in the name of the King of Castile. This event is of peculiar

interest in view of the subsequent activity of the sovereigns of Castile in Western lands. Heretofore the pressure of the Moorish invasions and internal disputes had hindered Castile from seeking aggrandisement beyond the seas, as Aragon had done. Henry III by his intervention in the expedition to the Canaries may be said to have initiated a new era. In the early years of the reign, people from Seville and from the Basque country had embarked with their horses and had visited these islands. They had returned with glowing accounts of the riches of the islands and of the facilities for their conquest. The expedition which set out from La Rochelle in 1402 under Jean de Bethencourt sailed under the special protection of Henry of Castile, to whom de Bethencourt had sworn allegiance.

Castile also derived international prestige from Henry's embassies abroad. His emissaries even visited Tamerlaine, the Mogul Emperor, who was fast extending his power along the western shores of the Mediterranean. The representatives of the King of Castile were received "with great benignity and courtesy" by the Eastern potentate who sent envoys in return to convey his salutations to the Christian monarch.

On the death of Henry a regency was set up under his brother Ferdinand, in view of the fact that his son John was but two years old. Throughout his administration Ferdinand proved himself an able and energetic ruler, repressing violence and repelling the advance of the King of Granada, from whom he wrested the town of Antequera. In recognition of this victory he is known to history as Ferdinand of Antequera. John II seems to have been gifted with all the outward qualifications of a king. He was tall, well set-up, slightly tanned, and had a great

presence, nut-brown hair, greenish blue eyes and shapely feet and hands. He was attractive, very frank and gracious, and widely read in philosophy and poetry. He was learned in Latin, and had a great regard for men of science. He possessed many talents, played the lute, sang, composed and danced well.⁷ He was the centre of a brilliant and luxurious court, to which came the poets, the scholars and men of letters of his time. But a paralysing indolence and love of pleasure rendered him wholly incapable of attending to affairs of state. He seems to have had no perception of the importance of industry and trade. The incessant preoccupation of the Moorish wars had engaged the attention and energies of the upper classes in Castile. Agriculture and crafts were carried on by the lower classes, and came to be regarded as servile and dishonourable occupations, fit only for serfs and moriscos. John II gave articulate form to this prejudice by declaring in a pragmatic manner that the trades of shoemaker, tailor, blacksmith and barber were low and ignominious. This attitude was destined to have disastrous effects in the economic life of Castile during the succeeding centuries.

John entrusted the entire administration of the realm to his friend and former playmate, Don Álvaro de Luna, and made him Constable of Castile and Grand Master of the Military Order of Santiago, "dignities which had never previously been held by any one person." The immense power bestowed by the King on one of his subjects excited the envy of the nobility, who united in plotting the downfall of the favourite. The outlines of Don Álvaro's character are blurred by the continual struggles and unrest of the times. The spasms and convulsions of

⁷*Cronica de Juan II de Castilla.*

the moribund feudal nobility rendered abortive all attempts to keep order and to pursue a constructive policy. The Constable displayed rectitude and acumen in his management of the affairs of State, and in his treatment of the nobility he attempted to conciliate and to pacify rather than to exterminate. He hoped to gain control by creating discord and division among the nobles themselves, a policy which may have been evolved from the advice of the Court Physician: "I say that the Constable ought to do as the villein does, who, when he cannot pull the tail out of his horse, takes it out hair by hair."⁸ His predominant vice appears to have been greed. His love of riches and ostentation drove him to seek wealth and possessions wherever these could be seized, and the castles and territories of rebellious nobles were confiscated and appropriated by him in the most wholesale manner. The nobility finally declared open war against him. They met the royal forces under the leadership of Don Álvaro at Olmedo and were defeated. The power of the Constable seemed greater than ever, "but," as the chronicler relates, "at last, as is the custom of varying fortune, things changed. Good will and incredible love were transformed into hatred and malevolence."⁹ His arrogant bearing alienated the young Queen, Isabel of Portugal, and she prevailed upon the King to rid himself of so powerful a subject. John gave the order for the arrest of the Constable, who was taken to Valladolid and condemned to be beheaded for the crime of having bewitched the King.

Valladolid, which was the scene of the ultimate downfall of Don Álvaro de Luna, was the witness also of

⁸Cited by Juan Rizzo y Ramirez. *Don Alvaro de Luna*.

⁹*Cronica de Juan II de Castilla*.

displays of gallant splendour and gay pageantry which delighted King John and satisfied his love of ostentation. The account of the feastings which took place there in 1425 to celebrate the christening of the heir to the throne provides a glimpse of the court life of the time. A long procession of prelates and members of religious orders came to bless the infant, who was to be called Henry after his grandfather. In every city of the kingdom there were "plays and cane tourneys and bull fights and dances according to the custom in each place. At the court orders were given for many jousts and tourneys, but on account of the rainy weather they could not take place."¹⁰ Later, when the nobles and burgesses from the various towns were assembled in the Monastery of the Pablo to swear allegiance to the young prince, the refectory was hung with cloths of gold and of silk. The King's throne was set on a dais, and beside it was a carved wooden bed of beautiful workmanship, painted blue and gold. The babe was carried by the Admiral of Castile, and beside him was the Countess of Puertocarrero, wife of Don Álvaro de Luna. The jealousies and rivalries between the various towns made themselves felt in the long, continual disputes as to the order in which the representatives should speak.

These rivalries were allowed full play when the young prince grew to manhood and succeeded his father on the throne in 1454 as Henry IV. His weak, gentle character and the training he had received at his father's court rendered him totally unfit to deal with the difficulties of government. The second half of his reign was a long series of revolts and rebellions, which culminated in the assembly of the nobles in Avila, where they declared

¹⁰ *Ibid.*



ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC

their refusal to recognise the legitimacy of Doña Juana, daughter of Henry's second wife, Juana of Portugal. Henry was deposed, and his younger brother Alfonso proclaimed King. At this the towns rallied under Henry, forcing him to take action and to give battle at Olmedo in 1467, where the rebels were defeated. Shortly after, the Infante Alfonso died and the nobles offered the crown to Henry's sister Isabella, who refused to accept it in the lifetime of the King her brother. Henry agreed in 1469 to recognise her as his successor, but the following year he reversed his decision, indignant that Isabella should have married Ferdinand of Aragon instead of Alfonso of Portugal, the husband he had chosen for her. He thereupon proclaimed the right of Doña Juana to succeed him on the throne. According to the description left us by his chaplain, Henry was "a person of great height and bulk, with heavy limbs. His hands were big, with coarse strong fingers. There was a lion-like ferocity in his mien which struck terror into those who approached him; his head was big and round, his forehead broad; his hair was fair, he had a long beard which he seldom shaved."¹¹ This masterful, overbearing exterior hid a gentle, sensitive and timorous spirit within. "The company of few people gave him pleasure. He seldom showed himself to his people, but lived in constant retirement. He played the lute well and appreciated good music. So great and generous was his heart, so ready to give and so liberal, that he never remembered the favours he had bestowed."¹²

It was an unhappy turn of fate which called him to reign in such turbulent times. His interest in art is pro-

¹¹*Cronica de Castilla.*

¹²*Ibid.*

claimed by the many buildings which he caused to be raised throughout the country and the treasures of fine workmanship which he amassed. His personal qualities were such as befitted a disinterested and magnanimous monarch. "He was filled with clemency, averse to cruelty, pious, charitable to the sick, and gave alone, in secret; a King devoid of arrogance, the friend of the poor, caring nought for the mighty."¹⁸

His death in 1474 left the kingdom under the deadly menace of a civil war for dynastic interests.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VI

The Growth and Development of the Kingdom of Aragon

THE kingdom of Aragon came into being as the portion bequeathed to a younger son by Sancho the Great of Navarre, that brilliant King who for a fleeting moment combined under his sway the entire expanse of territory from Galicia to the county of Barcelona. The territory on the banks of the river Arago to which Ramiro succeeded on the death of Sancho in 1035 was a strip of plain hemmed in by formidable mountain barriers. The restless ambition and tireless energy of its rulers forthwith carried the boundaries across these natural limits, and determined that policy of expansion which finally carried the banners of Aragon to the remotest easterly shores of the Mediterranean.

Ramiro annexed the neighbouring territories of Ribagorza and Sobrarte on the death of his brother Gonzalo. He then turned his arms against the Moors who hemmed him in on the south, and his campaign against them was carried on by his son and successor, Sancho Ramirez, who pushed the frontier of Aragon as far as the Ebro.

The murder of the King of Navarre gave Sancho the desired opportunity to intervene in the affairs of that kingdom, and for over half a century Navarre was annexed to a realm which once had formed but an insignificant portion of its own territories.

Pedro I, who succeeded Sancho Ramirez, drove the Moors from Huesca and prepared the way for the bril-

liant conquests of Alfonso I, surnamed for his military victories the Battler. His leadership carried the arms of Aragon across the Ebro, sweeping the Moors from northern Spain and planting the banner of Aragon on the walls of the great city of Saragossa in 1118.

The marriage of the Battler with Doña Urraca, Queen of Castile, was an attempt to extend his sway over all Christian Spain. The time, however, was not ripe for such a union, in which the individual distinctions and idiosyncrasies of the various states of mediæval Spain would have been subjected to modification; and so distasteful was the interference of the King of Aragon in the affairs of Castile and León to the subjects of Doña Urraca, that a revulsion of feeling evoked an antagonism which was not overcome until the time of the Catholic Kings.

When Alfonso died in 1184 he provided in his will that his dominions should be divided between the Templars and Knights Hospitallers. But this was stoutly opposed by his Aragonese subjects. They prevailed upon the late King's brother, Ramiro, to leave the monastery where he had become a monk and accept the throne. Ramiro chose for his wife a sister of the Duke of Aquitaine. Their daughter, Doña Petronila, was betrothed and later married to Ramón Berenguer, Count of Barcelona. This marriage is perhaps one of the most important events in the history of Aragon. It secured for a struggling inland kingdom the alliance of Catalonia, it gave her a seaboard and harbours, and threw open a new and brilliant prospect of foreign expansion. This leaning towards the east was accentuated by the separation of Navarre, which at this juncture broke her connection with Aragon and chose a ruler of her own. During the suc-

ceeding centuries the affairs of this mountain kingdom have little bearing on the main course of Spanish history. Navarre passed into French hands, and it became the prize of warring rivals. The device worn by the ill-fated Navarrese Prince Carlos de Viana, a bone gnawed by two greyhounds, symbolises the fate of the kingdom during this epoch.

The county of Catalonia had sprung from the Marca Hispanica, the territory on either side of the Pyrenees which had been ruled by the Frankish Kings who aided the Counts of the March to beat off the attacks of the Mussulman. At the end of the ninth century Count Wilfred of Catalonia repudiated the suzerainty of the Franks and founded the line of independent rulers of the House of Barcelona, whose descendants, through the marriage of Ramón Berenguer IV to Doña Petronila of Aragon, became rulers of Aragon. The separate and independent national life of the two realms never merged. Each retained its separate institutions, its laws, its parliament and its language. The essentially feudal structure of society in Catalonia was the outcome of its Frankish origin. The *Usatges*, containing the system of legislation which obtained in Catalonia, was an essentially feudal code. The power and number of the barons and the suppression of the lower orders was the outcome of that system which in its manifold aspects always tended to enhance the power of the nobles at the expense of King and people.

The internal organisation of Aragon was of a different order, and as the country developed it preserved its own characteristics and emphasized its essential differences. The aristocracy acquired a large measure of power in Aragon. Large estates were not in perpetual

danger from Moorish attack, and there was not the same need for the building of walled towns and fortresses as in Castile, where the municipalities were endowed with considerable independence in return for their services in keeping the surrounding country free of the invader. The Aragonese nobility were divided into two classes, the upper nobility, composed of the great barons, and the lower nobility, composed of *mesnaderos*, who were attached to the King's household, *caballeros* and *infanzones*. The nobility formed two branches of the parliament, the clergy and the burgesses composing the other two. The Kingship was hereditary, and although the sovereign possessed extensive powers, the despotic use of these powers was restrained by the Cortes, which constantly intervened in matters of legislation and taxation, and even in the management of foreign affairs. They also had the power of investigating the conduct of the monarch through the Justiciar, the chief judge in the Cortes, an office peculiar to Aragon which has no counterpart in Western Europe.

The origins of the Justiciar are shadowy and undefined. He existed in the twelfth century, and gradually his powers were extended and his prestige increased until during the fourteenth century he may be said to have reached the height of his importance. The Justiciar was appointed by the King, but all attempts to dismiss him, should he not prove subservient to the royal will, were stoutly and actively opposed by the Cortes. He seems to have occupied an intermediate position between King and barons. In him was personified the power of the law, and respect for law seems to have been deeply imbedded in the Aragonese. All attempts to trespass on the rights of the individual or to infringe national liberties were

referred to him. He could hear appeals and reverse sentences, should he consider them to be incompatible with the *fueros* (charters), and he could remove prisoners in danger of maltreatment in prison to a special prison under his personal jurisdiction. He it was who received the coronation oath from the monarch, who knelt bareheaded before him and swore to respect and defend all ancient laws and liberties, on which condition only the barons promised their allegiance.

The realm, therefore, which Ramiro and Petronila bequeathed to their son Alfonso was composed of separate states speaking a different tongue, obeying different laws, and moved by different conceptions and impulses. To this realm Alfonso succeeded on reaching majority in 1163, when his mother abdicated the throne in his favour.

He established his court at Barcelona, already one of the most thriving cities on the Mediterranean. The chronicler describes the town with its wide streets and palaces, its fountains and orange groves, and its harbour filled with the vessels of Italy, Greece, France and Flanders. Busy commerce was carried on with the East; precious stuffs, spices and perfumes poured in to satisfy the demand for riches and finery in dress and household appointments. The refinements of the table and the toilet were sought not only abroad, but from the artists in glass making and wood carving, the workers in gold and silver, who wrought and fashioned works of art at home.

From Provence, which had formed part of the possessions of the Counts of Barcelona since the beginning of the century, came the troubadours and jongleurs, bringing with them their poetry and their music and planting the roots of a new culture in Alfonso's realms. The King delighted in their literature, and composed sev-

eral poems. He was regarded by them at once as their protector and their comrade. They sang his praises in their flowing verses—"Even as white blossom is above the green foliage, so is his power uplifted and spread abroad above that of any other";¹—and they filled the country with their harmonies evoked on the psalterion, the vielle and the taburel. Their songs on week days told of love and war; on Sundays there were stories from the Bible and extracts from the lives of Saints.

Before the close of his reign Alfonso added Roussillon and Nîmes to his territories beyond the Pyrenees. He also took part in the wars against the Moors, from whom he recaptured the town of Teruel; and in return for the assistance he gave Alfonso VIII of Castile in the taking of Cuenca, the Castilian withdrew the claim of feudal overlordship over Aragon which Alfonso VII the Emperor had put forward and which had since been maintained. At Alfonso's death in 1196 his eldest son Pedro succeeded to all his Spanish territories south of the Pyrenees and to Roussillon; to his younger son was allotted Provence, which never again returned to the possession of the Kings of Aragon.

Pedro II set out with a splendid flotilla for his coronation in Rome, and was met at Ostia by a gorgeous retinue who received him in the name of Innocent III and conducted him to Rome. Here in the midst of great pomp and splendour the Pope crowned him, while he declared himself a faithful vassal of the Holy See.

His action met with fierce resentment in Aragon. Further difficulties arose when Simon de Montfort marched into his realms at the head of a Crusade to suppress the Albigensian heresy. For years he refrained from active

¹Peire Raymond. Quoted E. L. Miron, *Queens of Aragon*.

intervention, turning his attention to other matters. He engaged in the brilliant campaign against the Moors which culminated at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. Finally, however, he was forced to listen to the complaints of his subjects who had suffered from the cruelty of de Montfort's troops; and, having made an alliance with the Count of Toulouse, he declared war on the Crusaders. His armies were utterly defeated at the battle of Muret and he himself was slain.

The crown of Aragon now passed to his five-year-old son. James had been born in Montpellier, the territory which his mother, Marie de Montpellier, had brought under the sway of Aragon at her marriage to Pedro II. At the time of his father's death at Muret, James was in the custody of Simon de Montfort, whose troops, urged and animated by the fiery exhortations of St. Dominic, pushed on the campaign against the Albigenses and incidentally against the power of Aragon.

During the minority of the young King the greater portion of his possessions beyond the Pyrenees was lost to him. Nîmes, Beziers and Carcassonne were finally ceded to the French crown; the Count of Toulouse also attempted to extend his dominions at the expense of Aragon. James was removed from the custody of de Montfort by Papal mandate and placed under the care of the Grand Master of the Templars. His early years were spent in virtual captivity at the castle of Monzon, but dreams were free to carry him abroad, and his thoughts strayed to the south, to the sunny lands of Valencia, and across the sea to conquer the tempting lands of the Balearics. Meanwhile the kingdom was torn by contending factions; disorder and lawlessness spread abroad. With the help of a few nobles James escaped

from Monzon and made his way to Saragossa, where he was welcomed with hearty rejoicings. The Church and the cities accorded their support to the gallant boy King, who was thus enabled to reduce the nobles to obedience and discipline and to restore order in his realms.

The way seemed then clear for him to attempt the realisation of his youthful dreams, and he pushed on preparations to attack the Moors and oust them from the Balearics. He received enthusiastic support from his Catalan subjects, who gathered an army of some fifteen thousand men and a fleet of one hundred and fifty-five ships. In the autumn of 1229 the expedition sallied forth, led by the intrepid young King, his beauty and his gallant mien enslaving the hearts of his soldiers as they followed his dragon-winged helmet. The town of Palma was stormed and taken after a short struggle, and Majorca fell a prize to the conqueror. The land was parcelled out among the leaders of the expedition, and James named a governor to rule in his absence. Three years later the conquest was completed by the subjection of Minorca and Iviza.

The military genius and courage of the King had been amply displayed in the taking of the Balearics, which whetted his appetite for foreign conquest. The kingdom of Valencia lay seductively smiling and fertile to the South of his Aragonese lands, and James set out to conquer it, followed by an enthusiastic band of nobles. In 1238 the armies encamped outside the walls of Valencia and the town was besieged. A fleet from Tunis which came to its help was defeated. Valencia surrendered after several months' resistance, and its Moorish ruler was allowed to leave, unmolested, with any who cared to follow him. This conquest was followed by the taking

of Jativa and other important towns. Aragonese and Catalan nobles settled on the lands which the conqueror allotted them, and the Moors who remained there were well treated. A Moorish insurrection, however, which broke out in 1254 was sternly repressed, and many of the subject people were driven out of the country. The *Mudéjars*, as the Moorish subjects of a Christian sovereign were called, continued to live in communities throughout the realms of Aragon in greater numbers than in any other part of the Peninsula. The sovereigns protected them, and it is here that they have left the choicest examples of their workmanship and art. The relations between James the Conqueror and the King of Castile were most cordial. Alfonso X married James's daughter, Violante, and it was owing to the help afforded to him by his father-in-law that Alfonso was enabled to annex Elche and Alicante to Castile and later to conquer the kingdom of Murcia.

The reign of James the Conqueror, the most glorious in all the annals of Aragon, came to an end in 1276, and his death closes an epoch in the history of his realms. The loss of extensive territories to the growing power of France led to the concentration south of the Pyrenees. The capture of Valencia added still further possibilities for the formation of a great maritime power which could be wielded in enterprises and conquests across the sea. The occupation of Murcia by Castile cut off the Moor from the Aragonese kingdom, and in so doing quenched the ardour of Aragon in the war against the Mussulman. The time was now come when daring enterprise and spirited adventures must be sought across the sea, and the Mediterranean became the natural field for achievement.

James the Conqueror bequeathed all his dominions

south of the Pyrenees to his eldest son, Pedro III. To his second son, James, he left the Balearics, Roussillon and other lesser territories. These dominions, however, remained closely linked, as James recognised the feudal suzerainty of his brother over his domains.

The marriage of Pedro III to Constanza drew Aragon into the European struggle between Guelph and Ghibelline. Constanza was the daughter of Manfred of Sicily, a scion of the house of Hohenstaufen, arch-enemy of the Guelph party, which was headed by the Papacy. Sicily was granted by the Pope in fief to Charles of Anjou, who defeated Manfred in battle and later seized his nephew Conradin and put him to death. Constanza had come as a child to the court of James of Aragon, bringing with her several companions from Sicily, chief among them Roger de Lauria, who was destined to play such a brilliant part in the military annals of his adopted country. At the death of Conradin, Constanza became the rival claimant to the throne of Sicily, and to her aid the Sicilians looked to protect them from the oppression of the house of Anjou. Pedro was silent to their entreaties, but he made preparations for an expedition which should make his action effective when the time came.

At last, in 1282, news reached him of the insurrection which had flared up in Messina, culminating in the massacre known as the Sicilian Vespers. He secretly set sail with his fleet, put in at Mahón in the Balearics and then at Alcoyll on the coast of Africa where deputies from Sicily came to offer him the crown. Pushing on to Sicily the Aragonese defeated the French fleet and overran the island. In the following year Roger de Lauria took com-

mand of the fleet of Aragon, and inflicted two crushing defeats on the French at Malta and at Naples.

Pedro remained three years in Sicily establishing his rule and restoring law and order. On his return to Aragon he sent his Queen and two of his sons to represent him in his island kingdom. A touching description of the departure of the Queen and her children and their arrival at Palermo is given by Muntaner in his chronicle. The good ship "La Bonne Aventure" was prepared in Barcelona, and several galleys were engaged to accompany her. The ships were manned and stocked with provisions, and, while these preparations were being made ready, fêtes and spectacles were organised to distract the travellers. At last when all was ready the King embraced and blessed his wife and children, and they set forth on their palfreys, escorted by knights and prelates, to the Cathedral, where the protection of St. Eulalie and of St. Leger was invoked. Weeping crowds lined the streets and accompanied them to the water's edge, where a coracle awaited to convey them to "La Bonne Aventure."

At Palermo they were received with transports of joy. As Constanza rode through the streets on her white palfrey, gaily caparisoned, with the arms of Aragon and Sicily emblazoned on the trappings, the youth and beauty of the island pressed round to welcome her and the blare of trumpets and the crash of cymbals resounded among the cheers and applause. For a whole week all Sicily gave itself up to rejoicing, and there was dancing with amusements of every kind. At the end of that time "La Bonne Aventure" and her escort set sail for Barcelona, and Constanza, her last link with Aragon seemingly severed, set herself to the management of the affairs of her country.

Meanwhile Pedro III was surrounded with pressing dangers and difficulties. The anger and discontent of the Aragonese at the costly war in Sicily, from which they could see little benefit, broke forth. The nobles and cities were united in their resentment, and formed a union to defend their rights and liberties, their persons and goods against royal interference. Pedro, threatened by foreign invasion, was forced to yield to the demands of his subjects, set forth in an instrument known as the General Privilege. The document was a recapitulation of the ancient customs and privileges of Aragon which the King swore to uphold. No baron was to be obliged to render military service beyond the boundaries of the kingdom, representatives of all classes were to have a place in the royal council and to be consulted on questions of peace and war, and Cortes was to be held annually at Saragossa. These privileges were extended to Valencia, and similar rights were granted in Catalonia.

Meanwhile the French King determined to revenge the conquest of Sicily, and supported by the fulminations of the Papacy against Pedro, sent his armies across the Pyrenees and laid siege to Gerona. The timely intervention of Roger de Lauria, who dispersed the fleet sent from France to co-operate with the army, forced the enemy to retire. Pedro then determined to punish his brother James who had allowed the French free passage through Roussillon. He gathered together a fleet and an army in order to attack the Balearics, but death carried him off before the project could be put into effect.

Pedro was succeeded by his son, Alfonso III, who lacked strength and determination, although his personal bravery is attested by the chronicler. Internal unrest increased during the absence of the King on a punitive

expedition to the Balearics, and Alfonso was too weak to defend his prerogatives against the insolence of the Union formed by nobles and burgesses. In 1287 he signed the "Privileges of Union" whereby he undertook not to proceed against any of the members of the Union without the approval of the Justiciar and the Cortes, and the Cortes was to have the right to name certain persons who were to form part of the royal council.

Abroad Alfonso was confronted with the hostility of France and the Papacy, which he inherited from his father. With the assistance of Roger de Lauria he succeeded in wresting the Balearics from his treacherous uncle. He also made an allegiance for mutual defence with his brother James, who had become King of Sicily. Desultory fighting lasted throughout the reign until, in 1251, Alfonso came to terms with the Pope at Tarascon, when he seems to have abandoned the cause of his brother and promised that Aragon should pay a yearly tribute as a fief of the Holy See. Alfonso died in the same year and was succeeded by his brother James.

War with France broke out again over the question of Sicily, James having committed the government of the island to his brother Fadrique. The treaty of Agnani ended the war with France, but opened an equally disastrous struggle between the two brothers, since by it James had renounced his rights to Sicily and promised to force his brother to do likewise. The Aragonese fleet under the command of Roger de Lauria inflicted a crushing defeat on Don Fadrique. An agreement was finally reached according to which Fadrique married Leonor, the daughter of Charles of Anjou. At his death Sicily was to pass to the French sovereign. The cessation of hostilities in Sicily released an army of adventurers and

mercenaries who had been employed by Don Fadrique in the defence of his kingdom. Under the command of Roger de Flor this company set forth for the East to rally to the aid of the Emperor at Constantinople. His territory was threatened on one side by the Turk and on the other by the house of Anjou, desirous of possessing an empire in the East. To this empire Sicily would be a convenient stepping stone, and hence the tenacity of the Angevin in the struggle for the possession of the island. Roger de Flor with his Almogavares, as the light-armed mercenaries were called, was received with every mark of rejoicing at Constantinople; but in the midst of the entertainment a furious quarrel broke out with the Genoese, who were jealous of the Emperor's new allies. Roger de Flor advanced into Anatolia, where he won a series of brilliant victories over the Turk. He led his armies back to Gallipoli, where they encamped while questions of pay and reward were being negotiated. The sudden treacherous murder of Roger de Flor and the massacre of many of his followers drove those who escaped to deeds of vengeance and cruelty. They ravaged Macedonia and Thrace, and finally overthrew the armies gathered by the Duke of Athens on the Bœotian plain. Their complete victory at the battle of Cephissus made them the rulers of Athens. Here they established themselves, settling down on the land and acknowledging as their ruler Manfred, the second son of Frederick of Sicily.

Meanwhile James II of Aragon prepared to take advantage of the right to conquer Sardinia and Corsica accorded him by the Pope at the Treaty of Agnani. In 1323 a splendid fleet was mustered. The *trouvères* were sent throughout the realm to sing the gallantry of the

enterprise and arouse enthusiasm in the hearts of their listeners. A magnificent response was evoked, and the finest and best of Aragonese chivalry gathered round the standard of the King's son, Alfonso. The island of Sardinia was cleared of the Pisans, who were allowed to remain in the town of Cagliari on condition that they recognised the suzerainty of Aragon; and shortly afterwards Corsica followed this example. Yet in spite of the victorious issue of the enterprise the campaign ended in tragedy. Fever laid hold of that brilliant army and ravaged its ranks, and but a small part of the bold-hearted expedition ever returned to the shores of Aragon. When Alfonso IV came to occupy the throne of his father in 1327, his new conquests proved a continual source of trouble. The Pisans and Genoese resented the presence of Aragonese in Sardinia and Corsica, and the continual disorders they provoked prevented the overlordship of Aragon from ever becoming effective.

Alfonso was succeeded by his son Pedro in 1336. Bold, crafty and ambitious, Pedro IV set out to restore the power of the monarchy and to consolidate the territories of Aragon into one united whole. In order to protect his Valencian possessions from the aggression of the Sultan of Morocco, he allied himself with Alfonso XI after the latter's victory over the Moors at the Battle of Salado. A fleet was despatched to co-operate with the Castilians at the siege of Algeciras, and Aragonese troops entered the city side by side with the levies of Castile.

Having thus crippled the Sultan's power, Pedro turned his attention to the Balearics. He enticed the sovereign of those islands to Barcelona, imprisoned him on a trumpery charge and confiscated his lands, including the province of Roussillon north of the Pyrenees. Majorca

was occupied by Pedro's troops, and in 1344 the annexation of the territories was completed.

The main interest of Pedro's reign, however, centres on domestic affairs. He was keenly alive to the value of pomp and magnificence in impressing the importance of the royal person on the minds of his subjects. His love of ostentation was part of a deepset policy to enhance the prestige of the sovereign, and his treatise in which he lays down the methods of ceremonial procedure at court and the duties of the officials who attended on the royal person, was designed to insure a certain standard of magnificence in the royal entourage and to endow court life with the halo of custom and tradition. His coronation in the See of Saragossa was the occasion of a brilliant display of dignified splendour. The King himself took the crown from the altar and placed it upon his own head to show that he owed his kingship to God alone. The pretensions of the monarch to autocratic power were displayed in a number of high-handed actions which aroused the suspicion and later the active opposition of his subjects. The nobles of Aragon and Valencia again combined and revived the former union. They were accorded the active support of the townsmen. Although Pedro found support in Catalonia, his forces were insufficient to defeat his enemies, and he therefore acquiesced in the demands presented to him by the Cortes in Saragossa.

While outwardly concurring with their wishes, he applied all the force of his crafty intriguing character to sowing dissension among the members of the Union. He succeeded in detaching the powerful Luna family from the rebel association, and gradually a royalist nucleus was formed in Aragon and in Valencia. This grew stead-

ily until an army was gathered which challenged the forces of the Union. The two sides gave battle at Épila, where the courage and determination of the royalists gained the day. The King received the submission of Saragossa, the surviving leaders of the insurrection were hanged outside the walls of the town, and the King with his dagger cut to pieces the famous charter containing the Privileges of the Union. The battle of Épila ended the long struggle between sovereign and subject which had lasted since the days of Pedro III, and the strength of the barons was finally broken.

But Pedro IV and his successors seem to have used their power with moderation. The innate respect for law which had always characterised the eastern kingdom was gratified by the strengthening of the power of the Justiciar and the extension of the scope of his power in order to defend the rights of the subject and to safeguard the supremacy of the law.

The terrible scourge of the plague, the Black Death, ravaged Pedro's realms in 1348; it is said that no less than two-thirds of the population of Catalonia were carried off by this dreadful epidemic. In Valencia three hundred people died daily and panic spread throughout the country. Famine ensued and earthquakes struck terror into hearts. With these disturbances were spread the seeds of social unrest which were destined to spring up during the succeeding century.

Pedro IV was a protector of learning and gave impetus to the study of history and science. He himself, like several of his predecessors, wrote a chronicle of the events of his reign. The troubadours were welcomed at his court, and he wrote several poems which are still extant in the archives of Aragon, which owe their origin

to him. He collected a rare and valuable library. His interest and love of the classics demonstrated itself in practical form by his protection of the famous monuments of ancient Greece, which, with the Duchy of Athens, passed under the direct rule of the King of Aragon during his reign. A garrison of Aragonese soldiers was stationed at Athens to guard the city and its treasures from the onslaughts of the Turks. In 1350 the University of Huesca was founded by Pedro, who proved himself by his leadership of the intellectual movement a true scion of the House of Barcelona. From early times these kings had shown a leaning towards learning and letters. The Monastery of Ripoll, founded by the first Counts of Barcelona, had been in early times a centre of culture from which came teachers and scholars, and in which records and works of art were carefully guarded. Many of the kings possessed important collections of documents. The library of Pedro IV was famous. Lérida had been the seat of a university since 1300; the school of medicine of Montpellier had been famous even in the preceding century.

During the thirteenth century the learning and science of the Aragonese kingdom may be said to have been impersonated in Raymond Lull, a native of Majorca. He persuaded the King of Majorca to found a college for the study of Oriental languages so that the Franciscans might be prepared to teach the Gospel in the East. He taught in the universities of Montpellier and Paris, and the school of philosophy, which he may be said to have founded, developed and extended during the centuries after his death. He was a prolific writer, using impartially Latin or the Catalan language as his medium. His monumental works on philosophy and theology passed

later across the borders of Aragon into Castile, where, after the union of the kingdoms, the great Cardinal Cisneros himself edited them and Philip II read and consulted them. Not only a philosopher, a poet and a mystic, he must also be regarded as the father of experimental physics and chemistry, which together with medicine were to form the favourite branches of study in Aragon. The early students developed the experimental aspects of these sciences. A school of anatomy was established by Pedro's immediate successor, John I, and at the close of the century the foundation of the Hospital of Santa Cruz in Barcelona and of the first lunatic asylum in Valencia marked further steps in the progress of medical learning. The study of astronomy and mathematics was enthusiastically developed in Pedro's realms, especially in Catalonia and the Balearics, where interest in problems of navigation was most intense. Here, during this period, were made the first maps, all of which are said to be derived from an ancient map of Catalan or Spanish-Arab origin which dates from between 1266 and 1290. The earliest extant maps date from the years 1330 and 1339, and were drawn in Majorca.

Pedro the Ceremonious was succeeded on the throne by his son John I in 1387. He had neither inclination nor ability to deal with the affairs of his realm, and he devoted his time to hunting and pastimes. He was a great lover of music, and his artistic tastes drew to his court a brilliant galaxy of poets and musicians, and made it a centre of culture and luxury. The frivolity of the monarch offended the grave minds of his subjects, and the Cortes repeatedly protested against the endless round of diversion and entertainments. But John continued, all unheed-

ing, to indulge his tastes throughout the nine years of his reign.

He is said to have owned the most expert falcons in Europe. The mountains abounded in game, and magnificent forays were organised in which the King and his nobles took part on gaily caparisoned steeds, accompanied by their ladies and followed by a splendid retinue of huntsmen, archers and falconers, in rich liveries.

Court life itself reached a climax of luxury and brilliance, partly owing to the careful fostering of ceremonial by Pedro IV, and partly to the commercial prosperity which brought a stream of riches into the country through the flourishing harbours. The sovereigns were surrounded by a splendid train of attendants, all persons of noble birth, who were thereby entitled to wait upon the King. The Majordomo, or Primate of the Palace, marshalled a regular army of officials and servitors in the discharge of their various duties. The sons and daughters of noble families were sent to court while still of tender age; and were brought up there. The daughters waited on the Queen as "doncellas." The doncella was expected to rise at dawn and to give minute care to her personal toilet, never omitting to clean her nails and her teeth. She must use a mirror to assure herself that her hair was in order, she must assist her lady in dressing, holding her mirror for her, fetching water and towels for the ablutions, she must always keep at hand a needle, silk thread and a comb, in case these should be wanted. The custom of keeping black slaves was a characteristic of this time. They lent colour to the surroundings, and were considered a part of the decoration. These black boys were ordered to be sent from beyond the seas, together with carpets and

hangings, and were bestowed as gifts, much as a piece of furniture or a jewel might be.

Both John I and his Queen were passionate lovers of music, and the long evenings were enlivened by the strains of many instruments. The guitar, the lute, the *vielle* mingled or alternated with the flute, the harp, the dulcimer and the bagpipes. The court musicians wore a special livery, white and scarlet with the royal arms on the breast and shoulder, and so renowned was their skill that the Kings of both Castile and Navarre solicited a loan of them to perform on certain occasions of great solemnity. Games of chivalry, jousts and tournaments were also a feature of this gay court, where the nodding plumes and waving pennons of the knights made a brilliant spectacle. There were also dancers and jugglers, acrobats and performers on the tight rope, an art in which the Aragonese had always displayed great skill. From Italy had come the marionettes, and puppet shows are frequently referred to among the entertainments with which the sovereigns whiled away their days.

The character of John had also its graver side. He was a great lover of books and an assiduous and enlightened collector of *objets d'art*. He was in addition a patron of letters, and among the officials of the court we find a chronicler, a dramatic poet and a Latin translator. The inventories of the time reveal the beauty and riches of the objects used daily. Bowls and porringers of gold, graceful drinking vessels wrought in crystal and silver and wood, salt cellars of various and cunning design,—some in the form of a ship on wheels which could be pushed along the table,—damascened trays, enamelled inkstands, carafes emblazoned with the royal arms, silver forks for eating ginger, spoons of mother of pearl and

silver, and some of gold set with pearls and sapphires. Even the games of chess and draughts which the King played frequently were occasions for the display of art: chessmen were fashioned of jasper, crystal and chalcony, while the boards represented little tables with silver feet. The jewels and brocade of the courtiers flashed and glowed in this setting. The women attired in their *brials*, long robes tight at the waist, made of cloth of gold or silver, velvet or camlet, and falling in folds to the feet, with delicate gauze veils, jewelled girdles and pointed shoes, mingled with the men in their embroidered cloaks, rich tunics and jewelled headgear, and among all flashed the golden livery of the court jester as he tinkled his bells and cut his capers. Furs were also much worn to adorn the cloaks and pelisses and to line tunics and sleeves. Marten, sable, squirrel and lambskin were the richer furs, as well as ermine and the delicate alfaneque taken from the breast of the Barbary falcon, of which sumptuous mantles were made.

When John I died in 1389 the crown devolved upon his younger brother Martín, King of Sicily. The Duchy of Athens had been finally lost to Aragon during the reign of John I. Its loss, however, was counterbalanced by the union of Sicily and Aragon in the person of Martín, an event which was brought about by the premature death of the King's young son, to whom at his own accession to the throne of Aragon he had entrusted the government of the island. Martín I left no heir at his death in 1410, and with him the long line of the House of Barcelona became extinct.

No fewer than six personages claimed the throne. The country was faced with anarchy and disaggregation, and the fact that disruption was averted and comparative

order maintained during the long months of the interregnum bears striking testimony to the efficiency of the constitutional institutions of Aragon, and reveals the importance and significance of the power of the Justiciar as the chief guardian of the law. After long negotiations in which no decision was arrived at, the parliaments of Catalonia, Aragon and Valencia chose among them nine persons who were to meet at Caspe and to choose the King. St. Vincent Ferrer was one of the representatives elected by Valencia. The decision of the Nine of Caspe was given in favour of Don Fernando, the son of Pedro IV's daughter Leonor who had married John I of Castile. He had already distinguished himself in war against the Moors, from whom he had wrested Antequera, and as Regent of Castile for his nephew John II he had displayed the qualities of a wise ruler and an able administrator.

The coronation of Ferdinand of Antequera and his Queen in Saragossa seems to have constituted one of the most brilliant spectacles ever unrolled in the streets of the ancient capital. Nobles, knights and prelates flocked from all parts of the Peninsula to take part in the ceremony. Dancers and gleemen crowded in from the neighbouring cities, and the King of Granada sent a deputation to give a display of the Moorish game of reeds. Rich tapestries and hangings, curtains and re-posteros, made the town a blaze of colour. They bore the Arms of Aragon and the jar of lilies symbolising the newly-formed Order of Our Lady of the Lilies. The Order was a military one founded by Ferdinand, "a very devout Knight of Our Lady," and the investiture of the new knights on the occasion of the coronation was an imposing and brilliant ceremony. In accordance with the

procedure laid down by Pedro IV, the King bathed the night before the coronation and put on new garments, white underwear with a doublet of scarlet and a tunic of velvet and cloth of gold. Riding a white palfrey, the sovereign repaired to the cathedral where he passed the night in prayer, and rested in a room prepared for him in the cloisters, while the knights kept the vigil of the King's arms, which were laid upon the altar. Rising at dawn, the monarch donned a white silk tunic with sleeves embroidered with gold and pearls, bound by a white silken girdle. Over this was a dalmatic of crimson velvet worked with gold and pearls and precious stones with a maniple to match. His shoes and hose were scarlet with gold and pearl embroidery. Amid a crowd of prelates the King took his place in the sanctuary for Mass. On the altar lay the crown, the sceptre and the orb, cunningly fashioned by the famous Barcelona goldsmiths, and set with rubies, sapphires and large pearls. After the Epistle the royal insignia were blessed and the King himself put the crown upon his head. Twelve pieces of gold were offered by the sovereign in honour of the twelve Apostles. At the conclusion of the ceremony the glittering procession wended its way to the palace, the King riding a white palfrey with pure white trappings. At the palace a magnificent banquet had been prepared, and on the festive board were spread all the delicacies of the time: peacocks, fat capons, partridges and pheasants, cooked on the spit with spicy sauces, venison, trout, marchpanes, compôtes, custards and fruits. Here the King sat in state dispensing refreshment to his guests and to all who came to pay him honour on the day of his coronation and during the two days following.

Ferdinand, at his accession, was confronted with many

difficulties, and his four years' reign was a restless and disturbed one. One of the rival claimants, the Count de Urgel, refused to acknowledge him as King, and it was not until many months had passed that he was reduced to submission. There were disturbances and disorders also in Sicily, and within the bounds of Aragon itself there was considerable friction between the people and their new King, who, after many years of almost absolute rule in Castile, found it galling to be called upon to submit to the checks imposed on the royal power by the institutions of Aragon.

At Ferdinand's death in 1416 his realms passed to his elder son, Alfonso V. While engaged in restoring order in Corsica and Sardinia, Alfonso was summoned by Queen Juana of Naples to come to her aid in subduing her rebellious subjects; she promised him the realm of Naples at her death. The fickle Queen later repented of her action, and called upon Louis of Anjou, the hereditary foe of Aragon, to rescue her from the tutelage of Alfonso. The latter withdrew to await developments at home.

A decade had not passed before Queen Juana and Louis of Anjou died and Alfonso laid claim to the throne of Naples, basing his rights on his descent from Constanza, the wife of Pedro III of Aragon. With the utmost secrecy he prepared an expedition for a destination which is described in contemporary documents as "maritime parts." There are orders extant for "utensils and tools, wooden beams, irons, lead, resin and rope, buzzard feathers to oil locks that get stuck, camphor, whitewash, sulphur, and other necessities for the bombardier" and "certain oils, ointments, plasters and distilled waters for

the case of Master Arnaldo Fontanol, surgeon doctor to the King on the royal galley."²

With a splendid fleet armed with lusty fighting men the King set forth in 1435 and gave battle at Ponza to the Genoese, who had come to the support of the Holy See in defence of the papal fief of Naples. The Genoese fought with such spirit and determination that they inflicted a crushing defeat on the Aragonese, and the King and his two brothers were taken prisoner. The ever shifting stage of Italian politics, however, provided a new opportunity for Alfonso to attain the object of his ambitions, and at last in 1442 he captured Naples by a ruse and secured the allegiance of the town and of the kingdom. He succeeded in coming to terms with the Pope, and in the following year he made a magnificent state entry into the capital of his new realm. Here he became the centre of a brilliant court, gathering around him the poets and musicians of the time, enlivening his days with hunting and dancing, and indulging his taste for pomp and luxury and magnificence.

Meanwhile in Aragon the government was carried on by the Queen Maria of Castile. She it was who persuaded the Cortes to grant the supplies necessary to release the King from prison and to achieve the conquest of Naples. Again it was she who by her gentleness and courage secured the respect of her vacillating brother John II and preserved the peace between the two kingdoms which was constantly in jeopardy.

The social upheaval which was the inevitable aftermath of the dislocation caused by plague and famine at the end of the fourteenth century was already beginning to make itself felt. Queen Maria attempted to remedy

² *Doc. Ined.*

some of the more crying social grievances by the repeal of certain civil taxes, an action which awakened the displeasure of the nobility. She also protected and fostered trade and commerce, and patronised the industrial arts. Her letters in the archives of Aragon contain orders for articles of personal use, especially gloves, in the making of which the Catalans showed peculiar skill. There are also orders for a set of bowls and dishes of the famous lustre ware from Valencia, as well as commissions for purses or pouches made of brocade or leather and trimmed with pearls and gold embroidery, which formed one of the most extravagant accessories of the time.

Alfonso died in Naples in 1458, bequeathing his cherished conquest to his natural son Ferrante, and the realms of Aragon to his brother John, King of Navarre. John II left the government of Navarre to his son Carlos de Viana, and so roused the jealousy of his second wife, Juana Enriquez, who sought a kingdom for her own son Ferdinand, and who provoked discord between Carlos and his father.

Advantage was taken of these dissensions by the discontented elements in Catalonia, who espoused the cause of the Principe of Viana and demanded that he should be named Lieutenant Governor of Catalonia. The death of Carlos, which took place suddenly soon after his appointment to this office, was the signal for a furious outbreak of popular feeling against the sovereigns. Opposition to the King had been steadily growing during the absence of Alfonso V in Naples. Disaffection ran rife in the towns, which were gradually extending and developing, owing to the serfs who bought their freedom and abandoned the land. The Catalan rebels hurled themselves against the walls of Gerona, where the valiant

Queen had taken her stand, and, had it not been for the intervention of the French King who was promised Rousillon and Sardinia in return for his help, the town must have surrendered to the furious onslaught of the peasant forces. Fighting continued for several years, during which Ferdinand, the son of John II, and his fiery Queen took part. In 1469 Ferdinand married Isabella, the sister of Henry IV of Castile, who five years later succeeded her brother on the throne. In 1479 John II, blind and decrepit, died, leaving his realms to Ferdinand.

Aragon was at last joined to Castile in the persons of the Catholic Kings.

PART II

CHAPTER VII

The House of Austria

IT was a strange turn of fate that brought Ferdinand and Isabella to reign side by side on the throne of a united Spain. Neither of them had been born heir to a throne.

Ferdinand was the second son of John II of Aragon, and but for the death of his unfortunate step-brother the Prince of Viana, he would not have succeeded his father as ruler of Aragon, Valencia, Catalonia and Majorca. Isabella was the sister of Henry IV, and had it not been for the suspicion and ill-repute which surrounded the court of that monarch, it is unlikely that the nobles would have forced Henry to declare his daughter, surnamed *La Beltraneja*, illegitimate, naming his sister successor to his throne. The project of marriage between Isabella and Ferdinand conceived by a party of Castilian nobles was stoutly resisted by the elements of disorder, and close watch was kept on the frontiers to prevent the meeting. It was only in the disguise of a muleteer to a party of nobles travelling from Aragon to Valladolid that Ferdinand was at last able to make his way into Castile to meet his bride. They were hastily married by the Archbishop of Toledo, Pedro de Carrillo, and subsequently sheltered by him in his palace at Alcalá de Henares till the death of Henry IV in 1474, when Isabella was proclaimed Queen of Castile.

Hardly had the echoes of the herald's cries "The King is dead, Long live the King" died away and the royal

standard been hoisted on the Alcazar at Segovia when civil war broke out. The disaffected nobles who feared the establishment of a strong central government had risen in support of the claim of the thirteen-year-old daughter of Henry to be Queen of Castile. Her claim was also upheld by Alfonso V of Portugal, who married his niece in the hope of eventually becoming the ruler of half the Peninsula.

But Ferdinand was well prepared for the task that now unrolled itself before him. All his youth had been spent in war on the borders of Aragon, in Catalonia, and in Roussillon, and he was more accustomed to a camp than to a palace. He rallied his followers with stimulating enthusiasm and marched forth to meet the enemy at Toro. Brandishing on high his mighty sword and shouting "Follow the King unto death," he dashed into the fray, to emerge the conqueror, and, with his Queen, the acknowledged leader in Castile.

In this same year John II of Aragon died, and Ferdinand became King of Aragon. Isabella and Ferdinand were now joint rulers in Castile with equal rights in the administration of the country. Their device, "Tanto monta, monta tanto Isabel como Fernando," was adopted in order to express this equality. Their first care was the curtailment of the immense power of the nobles, some notion of which can be formed by consideration of the fact that points of strategic importance such as Gibraltar first passed into the possession of the Crown at this time. The nobles had their own armies and even their own fleets, and references to their exploits in the wars against the Moors and in protecting the coasts from the trepidations of pirates are constantly made by the chroniclers.

A central law-court known as the Sala de Justicia was

set up to punish these great men, and the administration of justice in regional courts in Valladolid and Granada was subordinated to it. The laws were assembled and classified in the code known as the *Leyes de Montalvo*.

Although the principal ministers and government servants were chosen from the lower orders, thus enriching these latter and endowing them with a growing preponderance in the state, the system of government was nevertheless anything but democratic. The Cortes met only nine times during the whole twenty-five years of the reign, and the vast work of state was carried on by seven councils, the most important of which were the Council of State, the Council of Justice, and the Royal Council.

A special police force was established which received the title of the *Santa Hermandad*, which, invested with military and judicial powers, rid the country of bandits and highwaymen and restored order and security along the principal lines of communication. The result was an increase of trade and commerce; fairs were started in important towns where highways intersected, notably at Medina del Campo, and commercial consulates were set up in Bilbao and Burgos.

A spirit of order and unification informed each one of these measures, and this ideal was applied by the Catholic Kings in their dealings with religious matters. For this reason the office of the *Santa Inquisición* was set up by them in Castile in 1478 and in spite of violent opposition extended to Aragon a few years later. Growing distrust of the Jews may be noted during all the early years of the reign, and it is said that no fewer than two hundred of them were burnt at the stake in Seville in 1429, that by the destruction of their bodies a door of escape from eternal fire might be opened to their souls. An edict for

their expulsion was drawn up, but the sovereigns, absorbed in the war against Granada and anxious to avoid the danger of amputating a member when the body politic was being drained of every resource, postponed its application until peace had been signed. The expulsion of the Jews deprived Spain of a hard-working, cultivated and enlightened element of her population.

Ten years of warfare led to the taking of Granada which marked the final and culminating point of the Christian Reconquest, a movement which had been progressing since the battle of Covadonga nearly eight hundred years before. After the taking of Malaga, Granada itself was the last stronghold of the Moorish King Boabdil, and the news of its fall reverberated throughout Christendom. The glorious day which saw the entrance of the Christians into that long-desired citadel is described by an eye-witness: "The Moors having surrendered their arms, the feast of the Epiphany, 6th January, 1492, the Catholic sovereigns Don Fernando and Doña Isabel, accompanied by Don Pedro González de Mendoza, Cardinal of Spain and Archbishop of Toledo, entered the city of Granada, not with irreverent triumph, but in procession with clergy, monks and prelates rendering heartfelt thanks to God for His mercies and for the victory accorded to them. In this way they traversed the whole city from the Puerta Del-visa to the Alhambra where the Conde de Tendilla had prepared lodgings for them in the sumptuous apartments of the Kings of Granada. Here the King and Queen decided to spend a few days, and keeping for their protection the Hermandad and their special bodyguard, they ordered that the army should disperse to rest. They sent messages to Alexander VI, then Pope, and to all the Christian princes, giving them tidings of the great victory

which God had given to Christian arms in the taking of Granada. When this news reached the Pope he ordered that there should be public rejoicings, and processions and feasting were held in Rome like those taking place throughout all Spain."¹

The new royal residence must indeed have been a contrast to the grim austerity of the Alcazars of Toledo and Segovia. A traveller who visited it in 1502 has left us the following description: "It is very big, it seems like a little town. The building is divided into two parts. One, called the Hall of Lions, has a square paved court of white marble, in the centre of which is a fountain also of white marble, the water of which issues from the mouths of twelve marble lions. . . . All round this court are galleries paved with white marble in which are two hundred and fifty marble pillars and the rooms opening off them are paved likewise. In each room is a fountain issuing from a pool of coldest water drawn from the great fountain in the centre of the courtyard. In the other part is a little garden paved with white marble all most beautifully cut. In the centre there is a tank with fish in it."²

The conquest of the Moors thus achieved, the Catholic Kings found leisure and inclination to attend to another matter which had come to their notice in the preceding years, a question of incomparably greater importance for Spain and her future than any of the multitudinous concerns which at that time seemed more vital and pressing. This was nothing less than the projected voyage of Christopher Columbus, an enterprise which was to bring a whole new world under the sway of monarchs who had but recently made good their sovereignty over a relatively small fraction of the old.

¹*Cronica de Felipe I por Lorenzo de Padilla. Doc. Ined.*

²Anthoine de Lalaing-Gachard, *Ier Voyage de Philippe le Beau.*

Mystery enshrouds the early history of Columbus. His birth and parentage have not been ascertained, nor is anything definite known of his early life, his adventures, his studies. When he first appeared on the historic scene he was a grey-haired man obsessed with an entirely erroneous theory regarding the size of the earth and basing on it his belief that the lands of the Orient described by travellers such as Marco Polo could be reached by travelling due west. The Duke of Medinaceli and the Duke of Medina Sidonia were won to his cause by the conviction and enthusiasm with which he expounded his theories, and they protected him. He was also fortunate enough to enlist the sympathies of Don Pedro González de Mendoza, whose immense power and influence in the state were such that he was called the third King. Another good friend to Columbus was Fray Diego de Deza, a Dominican and tutor to the young Prince John, the King's only son, who himself personally championed the explorer, summoning him to an audience with the sovereigns at Salamanca and offering him shelter and hospitality at the Dominican convent of San Esteban.

After much journeying to and fro, following the court as it moved from Galicia to Castile, from Castile to Andalusia, and after repeated promises of help from the King and Queen, promises which the drain of the war against the Moors prevented them from carrying out, Columbus grew impatient. The early months of the year 1492 found him lodging with his little son Diego in the convent of La Rabida in the little town of Palos de Moguer at the mouth of the Rio Tinto, on his way to seek his fortunes in other countries. The Prior, however, Fray Juan Perez, was captivated by his theories and, as the Queen's confessor, possessed some influence at court. Bearing a letter from him

Columbus once more presented himself before the sovereigns and drew finally from them the fulfilment of their promises. The sum of a million maravedis (about £1000) advanced out of the funds of the Church and guaranteed by the Queen's own jewels, was granted. Thus supported and provided for, he took heart and hurried on the preparations, finding vessels and crews for his daring expedition. In this he was ably assisted by the brothers Pinzon, men of substance living in Palos, who were as well versed in treating with the men of their neighbourhood as with the difficulties of navigation. Finally three ships were chartered for the great adventure, one with decks, known as a *nao*, weighing some 200 tons and named the Santa Maria, in which Columbus was to travel; two caravels, light, swift craft, with forecastles and only one deck, weighing 115 tons and 100 tons respectively, and named the Pinta and the Niña. All the resources of the vicinity were drawn upon for the food supply, and for weeks before there was a busy traffic of mule trains and carts bearing loads of grain, rice, beans, smoked fish and meat, wine, oil, vinegar.

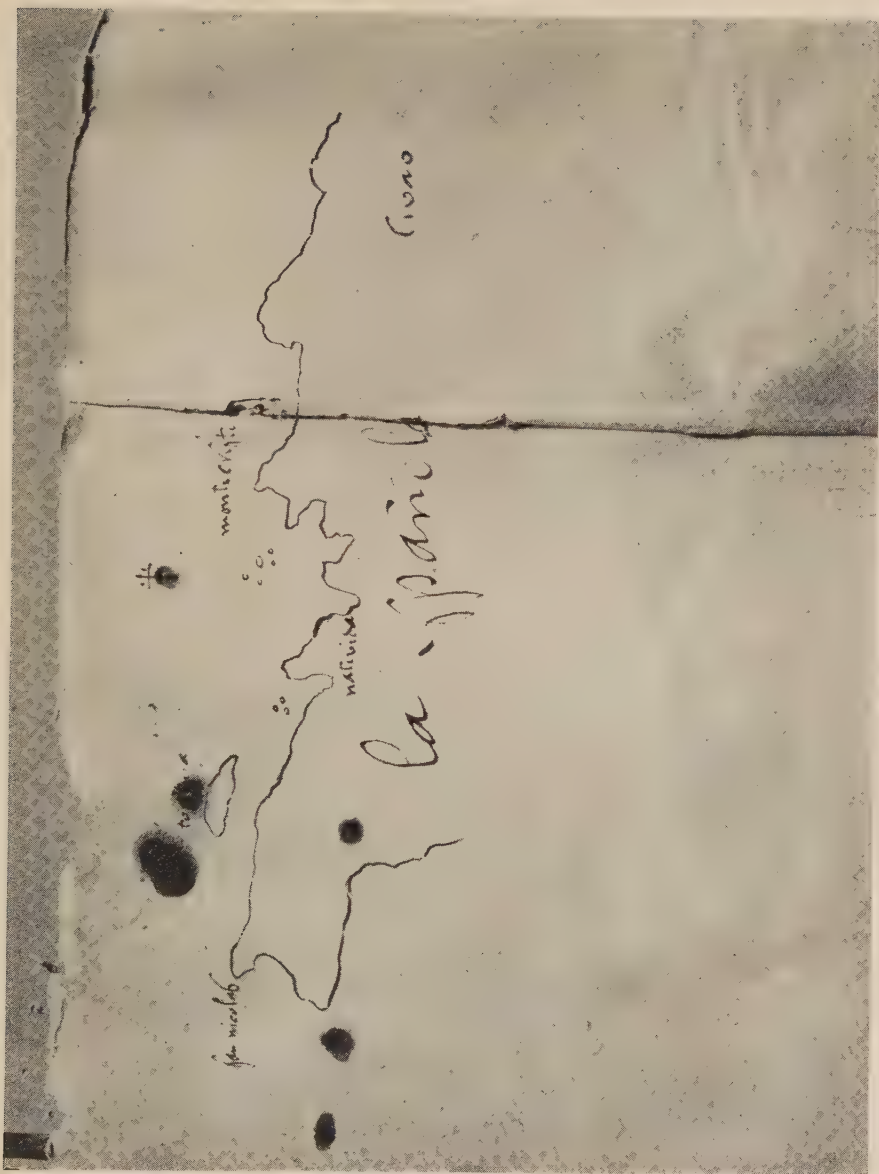
At last at dawn on Friday, August 3rd, 1492, all was ready. After hearing Mass and bidding farewell to their families, the heroes went aboard. Every man was at his post, the pilots stood at their wheels, sails bellied and the water lapped the hulls. Hope and confidence rose as the flags were run up, and clearly from the deck of the Santa Maria rang out the Admiral's voice "In the name of God set sail."

Throughout the journey Columbus kept his diary, which is preserved in Seville and which gives us the account of the events and impressions of this epoch-making journey. At the beginning is clearly set forth the main object for

which the voyage was undertaken, and it is on this fact that is based the conception of the American sculptress, Mrs. Payne Whitney, in her monument to Columbus erected at Huelva in 1929. Here Columbus is represented embracing the Cross in such a way that from far out at sea it is the outline of the Cross alone which stands forth, the figure of the man who bore its message so many leagues away appearing only as one draws near. "In view of the fact that many times in the past," writes Columbus, "the great Khan had sent to Rome to ask for teachers to instruct the people of his country and that the Holy Father had never acceded to the request, so that many were sunk in idolatry and lost by the worship of perdition, Your Highnesses as Catholic and Christian princes, lovers and promoters of the Christian religion, and enemies of Mahomet, and of all heresies and idolatries, thought of sending me, Christopher Columbus, to these parts of the Indies, in order to see these same princes, the countries and the towns, their situation, everything about them, and the best means of converting them to our holy religion, and ordered that I should not travel to these last overland, as one usually goes, but that I should travel westward in a direction which no one else so far as we know has ever taken!"^a

At dawn on October 12th came the first glimpse of land, and presently they set foot on an island to which Columbus gave the name of San Salvador, now, alas! called Cat Island. The next island to which they came was called Santa Maria de la Concepción; thus, in the New World, Our Lady under that title was venerated from its very infancy. More and more land was discovered by these intrepid explorers, a new, fruitful, generous land.

^aEspinosa, *Cartas y Relaciones de Colon*.



MAP OF COLUMBUS

The impression Columbus gives of the island of Santo Domingo, which he called La Española, reads like a description of the Promised Land. "There are many mountain chains and peaks, all fertile . . . covered with trees of every description, so high that they seem to touch the sky, and I understand that they never lose their leaves, for I saw them as green and as beautiful as though it were May in Spain. Some were in flower, some bore fruit, and others were at other stages according to their kind. And the nightingales sang in many different tones in the month of November when I was there. . . . La Española is a marvel. The hills and mountains, the valleys, meadows, and fields, beautiful and rich for planting and sowing, for raising cattle of every description, and for building towns and houses. . . . Here there is much spice and great mines of gold and other metals. . . . I gave them a thousand good things that I had brought with me so as to win their affection, so that later they may become Christians, and submit themselves to the rule of Your Highnesses and of the whole nation of Castile."⁴

Columbus returned to Spain in March, 1493, and was received in triumph in Barcelona where the court then was. The accounts he gave of the riches in both minerals and spice—the two commodities which were then most eagerly sought—ran through the length and breadth of the land, firing imaginations, and stimulating the enthusiasm of the adventurous, arousing the greed and cupidity of some, and awakening in others the hopes of a fresh start in a new life.

That same year Columbus set out on his second journey, which lasted three years, and on which he discovered Jamaica and the Caribbean Islands.

⁴Espinosa, *Carta de Colon escrita en el mar 1493*.

On a subsequent journey, when he discovered Trinidad and even landed on the mainland of South America, Columbus attempted to make his title effectual by setting up a personal rule in La Española. But he had little disposition for government, and his rule resulted in a state of insurrection and anarchy which ended in Columbus being sent back to Spain a prisoner. Although the sovereigns ordered his immediate release, he was not reinstated as governor of their new possessions. Several causes had combined to modify the esteem and confidence which the monarchs had at first shown him. The Indians whom Columbus had brought back as slaves distressed the Queen, and misgivings regarding the treatment of her new subjects were ever present in her mind. These fears were reflected in her last will and testament wherein she called upon her successors "to do all in their power to preserve the natives and inhabitants of the Indies, already conquered or yet to be conquered, from aggression in their person or goods, and to watch that they were well and justly treated."⁵

The remainder of Columbus' life was spent in endless attempts to vindicate his rights, following the court from place to place, airing his grievances in ceaseless lamentations and demanding the literal fulfilment of the extravagant promises which he asserted the sovereigns had made him, "that the said Admiral should be viceroy and governor-general of all the islands and lands which are in the ocean and that he should dispose of all the appointments on sea or on land."⁶

A pause came in 1502, when a fourth voyage was undertaken at the cost of the government, which resulted in

⁵Lafuente, *Historia de España*.

⁶Alba, *Autografos de Colon*.

the discovery of Honduras and Costa Rica, and full of fresh hope he returned to Spain. Hardly had he landed, however, when the Queen, his special protectress, died, and the remaining years of his life dragged out in melancholy poverty till death overtook him in Valladolid in 1506.

The direct result of the success of Columbus, following as it did the reorganisation of the interior administration of Spain and the expulsion of the Moors, was to endow the throne of Spain with an importance and prestige which it had never before possessed, and to place it in a position of unparalleled European importance. The daughters of the Catholic Kings were much sought after in marriage. Henry VII of England thought to insure himself against the growing power of France by a marriage alliance between his eldest son Arthur, and Katharine, youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and when Arthur died he obtained a special dispensation from the Pope to allow his daughter-in-law to marry his second son, who later became Henry VIII. The only son of Ferdinand and Isabella, Prince John, married the daughter of the Emperor Maximilian of Hapsburg. He died, however, in 1497, and the grief and love of his parents found expression in the delicate beauty and tender tracery of his marble tomb in Avila. The heir to the throne was then the second daughter, Joan, who was married to Philip of Burgundy, the lord of Flanders, Artois, the Netherlands, and Burgundy. The marriage had taken place in the preceding year in Ghent amid much pomp and rejoicing. A list of provisions for the fleet which bore her away to Flanders from the coast of Galicia has a certain piquant interest. It includes "twenty head of cattle, two hundred calves, a thousand chickens, ten thousand eggs, two thou-

sand hundredweight of salted mutton, one hundred and fifty thousand sardines, herrings, or whichever fish was best, and ten hundredweight of tallow candles." The document is signed by the Catholic Kings and dated at Tortosa, January 18th, 1496.

One of the consequences of the union of Castile and Aragon was the introduction of new elements into the policy of each. This is nowhere more clearly illustrated than in the case of the Neapolitan war into which Spain was drawn in 1502. Rivalries and jealousies had always existed between France and Aragon, and when Charles VIII marched through Italy in 1494 and seized Naples, Ferdinand protested energetically and effectively. The dispute ended in a compromise, which divided the Neapolitan territories between the two sovereigns; but when Louis XII, who had succeeded Charles VIII in 1500, set about putting this plan into effect, Ferdinand complained that he was claiming more than his due. War broke out, and Ferdinand dispatched an army to Naples under the command of Gonzalo de Cordoba. This general was surnamed the Gran Capitán. It was he who drilled and organised the Spanish army and forged that mighty instrument whereby the power of Spain was to be flung across Europe during the reign of Charles I. His troops overran the country, and routed the French at the battle of Cerignola, and Ferdinand was proclaimed King of Naples in 1504. The expenses of this war horrified the King, who summoned his general, accusing him of extravagance and peculation, and demanded an explanation of the enormous sums expended. The anger of the General found vent in a document, a copy of which is preserved in the National Artillery Museum, a passionate statement of expenses searing in its vitriolic irony. "Lances, spades, hoes, one

hundred millions. One hundred and seventy thousand ducats in replacing and repairing bells worn out ringing for new victories. One hundred million ducats for my patience with a sovereign who asks for a settlement of a bill from the subject who has given him a kingdom.”⁷ Such are some of the items of the reply of Gonzalo de Cordoba that gave rise to the expression “cuentas del Gran Capitán,” which signifies extravagant and unjustifiable demands for money. Don Gonzalo retired to his possessions, indignant and humiliated, and the Crown lost the active support of an able soldier.

In 1504 Queen Isabella died in the Castillo de la Mota, which had always been her favourite residence. In her will she named as her successor to the crown of Castile and León her daughter Joan, wife of Philip of Burgundy, but in view of the delicate state of Joan’s health she called on King Ferdinand to act as Regent till the arrival of Philip, who was in Flanders.

The personality of Isabella the Catholic is one of the most outstanding in Spanish history, and the vicissitudes and varying fortunes of her reign were well calculated to bring into play her vast resources of character and will. Her court was at times a brilliant one. A French traveller writes of her: “As for the Queen, never was there a Princess more gorgeous, nor attended by a more magnificent suite than she.”⁸ Her jewels are spoken of by various writers who refer especially to her love of rubies, and when the exigencies of the times demanded, she was able to raise considerable sums on them. Her linens, her velvets and brocades, her table appointments, are also worthy of note. The silver also seems to have been used as a means

⁷Lafuente, *Historia de España*.

⁸*Ier Voyage de Philippe le Beau* par Anthoine de Lalaing.

of raising money, as an inventory of silver pawned by the King in Zamora indicates. This includes large dishes, plates, cups, basins, bowls in plain silver and in silver gilt as well as table-centres ornamented with enamel tracery. But later the sovereigns, wishing to curb the wild extravagance of the nobility, passed sumptuary laws restricting the wearing of silk, gold cloth and brocades, and limiting the display and ostentation at weddings, christenings and funerals. To give effect to these ordinances the Queen herself adopted a simpler mode of dress, and many of the feastings, jousts and tourneys were put a stop to. As for the bull-fight, she herself said, "I make a solemn resolution never to see it nor to be the cause that it should take place."⁹ That the affairs of state constantly occupied Isabella's attention is shown by a memorandum as to the disposal of her time composed by Fray Hernando de Talavera, who was her confessor during the first years of her reign. "Attend the meetings of the Council, every Tuesday at four o'clock. Hear the reports of the comptroller Wednesday at the same hour. Hear proposals with regard to petitions Thursday at the same hour. Hear the Prior of the Prado Monday at that hour. Receive the officers of State Friday at the same hour. Sign documents Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday for an hour. Examine the post every night and distribute letters and petitions."¹⁰

Much order and much vigour of mind were needed by Isabella the Catholic to meet the demands of her country at a time of crucial development. The call for reform and reorganisation at home, the guarding of the frontiers and the establishment of power abroad, the conclusion of the

⁹Lafuente, *Historia de España*.

¹⁰*Memorial de Hernando de Talavera. Doc. Ined.*

struggle against the Moor, the foundation of the Empire in the New World, all demanded her unremitting industry, her clearness of vision, her confidence and constancy. When time lifted from her the burden of Queenship it left her with the joy of achievement in her heart.

King Ferdinand of Aragon, pending the arrival of Philip from Flanders, was ably supported in the government by Fray Francisco de Cisneros, who had first come to court under the patronage of Cardinal Mendoza as the Queen's confessor, and who had succeeded that great prelate in the see of Toledo in 1495. He had devoted himself to the work of reforming the clergy and the religious orders, a task in which the Queen herself had seconded him, and his activities had met with widespread success. Now during the coming years he was to apply his genius for organisation and reform to the affairs of state.

Great feasts were prepared for the advent of the new King, but Philip was not destined to enjoy the delights of kingship. In 1506 he fell ill at Burgos of an intermittent fever which seized him after his excessive exertions at a game of pelota, and in a few weeks he was dead.

In view of the mental weakness of Queen Joan, Ferdinand was again called upon to act as Regent, a position which he held until his death. Meanwhile he had married the niece of the King of France, Germaine de Foix, to whom Louis XII had ceded all his rights to the throne of Naples.

In 1508 Cisneros with the authorisation of the King organised and equipped an expedition against the Moors of North Africa at his own expense; and Oran, Bujia, and Tripoli were captured. In this the Cardinal was putting

into effect the wishes expressed by Queen Isabella in her will, and at the same time he thereby provided distraction for the nobility, whose superfluous energies would otherwise have been the cause of disorder and unrest at home. Ferdinand's interests on the French border and in the Mediterranean perpetually drew him into quarrels abroad. Taking advantage of the excommunication of the King of Navarre, who had gone to war with the Pope, he marched into his kingdom and annexed it to the Crown of Castile in 1515.

In 1516 Ferdinand died, leaving to his grandson, Charles, the kingdoms of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, the two Sicilies, Sardinia, and Corsica, and naming him Regent in Castile until the death of his mother, Queen Joan.

Until the arrival of Charles from Flanders the government of these vast territories was left in the hands of Cardinal Cisneros. Cisneros straightway began reforms by cutting down pensions, and reclaimed crown territories which had been alienated during Ferdinand's last years.

When Ferdinand died in 1516, great changes had taken place in Spain since the time he had stolen across the borders of Aragon to marry his bride. National union had been achieved and consolidated, old privileges had been broken down, strife and disorder suppressed, the ways cleared and protected for communications and trade. The channels were thus opened into which might flow the streams of new thought and new learning, which with the rising tide of the Renaissance, were running with increased speed throughout Europe. Spain had always been in touch with classical learning. The Arab translators in Toledo had made that city a classic centre in the tenth century, and scholars such as Ramón Lull had continued

the traditions of learning, so that it is recorded that the Pope in 1438 exclaimed with regard to the approaching visit of Bishop Alfonso de Cartagena, "If the Bishop of Burgos comes to Rome, I shall be ashamed to sit upon the throne of St. Peter."

The Catholic Kings moved abreast of the times. They and their court conversed freely in Latin. The Queen was instructed in the classics by Doña Beatriz Galindo, a lady of noble birth from Salamanca, whose writings on Aristotle won for her a position of international repute. Scholars such as Antonio and Alessandro Giraldino were appointed by Isabella as tutors to her children, of whom the Princess Joan could improvise Latin discourses, and Erasmus described Princess Katharine as "*egregia docta.*" Members of the nobility occupied chairs in the University of Salamanca, which was at that time one of the foremost in the world; other great noblemen such as the Duke of Alba instituted literary circles in their houses, which became active centres of thought and learning.

The introduction of printing served further to fan this "fervour of learning." It is probable that the first printing press was set up in Saragossa in 1473. In the following year a press was set up in Valencia, and from here printing spread to all the important towns of the Peninsula. The peace and security which the rule of the Catholic Kings assured to Spain allowed for the foundation of new universities, of which the most important was that founded in Alcalá by Cardinal Cisneros in 1508. Here the students spoke Latin continually and here was compiled the famous *Biblia Complutensia*, so called from Complutum, the Roman name for Alcalá. It was a gigantic work, lasting for years, with which were associated some of the foremost scholars of the age. When Francis I was welcomed

in Alcalá in 1525, he exclaimed, "Cisneros has done for Spain what it has taken a line of kings to do for France."

Many fine churches and buildings in flamboyant Gothic, a style which is especially associated with the Catholic Kings, appeared at this time, the Colegio San Gregorio in Valladolid, the University of Salamanca, the Cathedral Nueva in the same town, San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, the Cathedral of Segovia and countless others. At this time also appear the first hesitating attempts to introduce the new Renaissance style of architecture in accordance with the ideas that came trickling in from Italy. In Spain at first it took the form of delicate ornamentation of flat surfaces of the building and was known as *plateresque*. Early examples of this style exist in the Capilla de la Concepción, in the Cathedral of Sigüenza, and in the Hospital de Santa Cruz at Toledo.

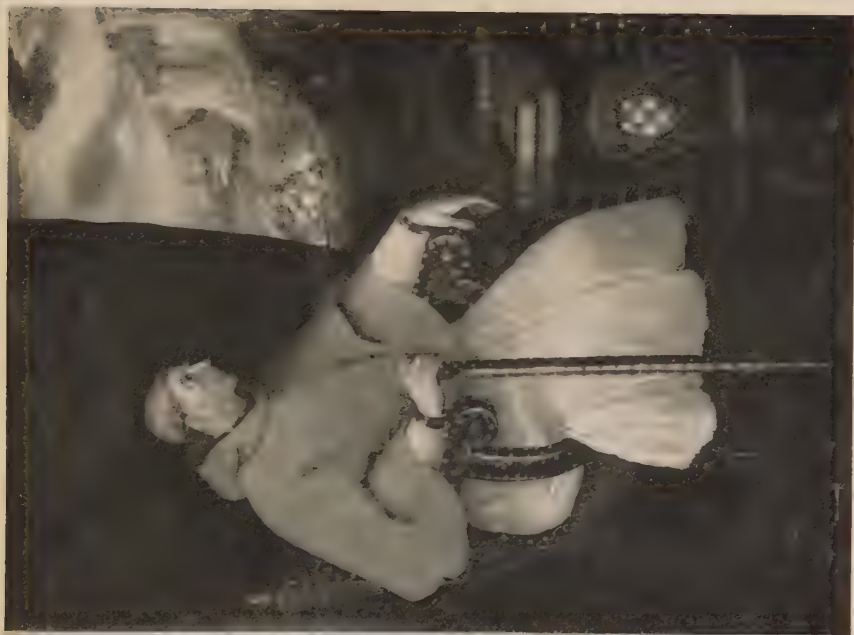
The sculptures of the time, the most beautiful of which appear on tombs, also show a marked Italian character. The tomb of the Infante Don Juan in Avila is by Domenico Fancelli, a Florentine. The magnificent tomb of the Catholic Kings in Granada, though by a Spaniard, Bartolome Ordoñez, was wrought by him in Carrara, and this artist also worked the beautiful sarcophagus of Cardinal Cisneros in Alcalá after the designs of his master Fancelli.

Just as this Italian influence was making itself felt in the buildings of the time, its delicate features are to be found also in literature, most especially in the sonnets of Garcilasso de la Vega and his followers. The Latin writers of the period are, however, of greater importance. They include Juan Luis Vives, one of the foremost philosophers and pedagogues of the Renaissance, ranking in scholarship with Erasmus and Budé. Another famous scholar of the time was Nebrija, who, after prolonged



CHARLES I

Titian



CARDINAL CISNEROS

studies at the Spanish College in Bologna, returned to Spain to teach at Salamanca and to compile his "Gramática Latina" which has been employed as a text book up to our own times.

Books of chivalry were much in vogue, and this age saw the appearance of "Amadís de Gaula," made famous for all succeeding generations by the ridicule heaped on it by Cervantes a century later.

Territorial expansion, political consolidation, and intellectual and artistic development, these are the three important aspects of the reign of the Catholic Kings. History corroborates the words of Cisneros to King Ferdinand, who grudgingly expressed his admiration of his work at Alcalá: "Sire, while you gain territories and leaders, I work to form men who will be an honour to Spain and servants of Mother Church."¹¹

CHARLES V

When Charles I at last landed in Spain in 1517, he was frankly unpopular with the bulk of his new subjects. Charles had been born in Ghent, and the sixteen years of his life had been spent in Flanders. He knew no word of Spanish, and was ignorant of the customs and mentality of the people. His counselors and courtiers were Flemish noblemen who regarded Spain as a plentiful source of supplies, and sought to use the power of the young King to enrich themselves. Charles's representative in Spain, Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, had alienated many of his subjects, and the number of Flemings who accompanied the King contributed to accentuating this bad feeling. Indignation increased when Charles demanded large sums of money

¹¹Lafuente, *Historia de España*.

to be expended on securing his election to the Empire; and when, having extracted these sums from an intimidated Cortes, he proceeded to Germany, leaving Cardinal Adrian as Regent, a storm of discontent broke out. This took shape in the insurrection of the Comunidades or Municipalities. The citizens of the principal towns, Toledo, Segovia, Salamanca, Zamora, Avila, enraged at the weakness of their representatives, rose to rid themselves of the galling yoke of the foreigner. Under the leadership of the Toledan, Juan de Padilla, they formed themselves into a league which demanded the removal of the Regent, and refused to acknowledge the authority of the Royal Council. They attempted to enlist the support of Queen Joan, who was living in retirement in Tordecillas. Although this support was not extended, the movement spread rapidly. The bitterness of feeling in Castile and León gradually developed into the violence and excesses of a class war. This development, however, alienated the cities of Andalusia, Biscay and Galicia who withdrew their adhesion. The movement thus became concentrated in Castile, where the insurrectionaries gathered their forces. After several skirmishes they came into direct collision with the Royal arms at Villalar in 1521, where they were utterly defeated. The leaders of the movement, Juan de Padilla with his two companions, Juan Bravo and Francisco Maldonado, were taken prisoner and executed. Juan de Padilla is described by the chroniclers as "the best beloved man in all Castile," and his last words to his companions are on record. "Be patient, Juan Bravo. Yesterday we fought as gentlemen, to-day we shall die as Christians."¹²

For some little while longer, the revolt was sustained

¹²Santa Cruz, *Cronica de Carlos V.*

by the Toledans under the leadership of Maria Pacheco, the widow of their hero, Juan de Padilla, and she and the Bishop of Zamora were the acknowledged rulers of the city. As an historian of the time recounts, "When Doña Maria went out in the street, instead of being accompanied by honest matrons, she was escorted by men with pikes and halberds, and all that she ordered and decided was carried out, and everything she said was agreed to."¹³ Toledo was entered, however, by the Royal forces a few months later, and Maria Pacheco fled to Portugal.

When Charles returned to Spain in the following year, 1522, a decided change may be noted in his policy and attitude towards his subjects in the Peninsula. Spaniards were now given the official posts in the realm, and a certain feeling of affection and esteem grew up between him and the Spanish people, which was destined to increase through the many changes and vicissitudes of a long reign. Charles came to look to Spain as to a sheltering home, and it was in Spain he chose to spend his last days.

In spite of the strength and importance of the rival claimants to the Empire, Francis I of France, and Henry VIII of England, Charles had been elected Holy Roman Emperor, and henceforth he is known in Spanish history as Charles V. A Latin stanza at the time somewhat succinctly describes the special qualifications which secured Charles his success at the election:

"There aspired to the Empire, Spain, France and Germany.
Charles is elected. How should he not be?
Spaniard, Frenchman, German is he,
Uniting in his person these kingly titles three."

The emblems of his immense possessions emblazoned in his shield came to constitute one of the most sumptuous

¹³*Ibid.*

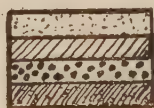
motifs in architectural decoration. Associated in his coat of arms we find the Castle of Castile, the Lion of León and the Bars of Aragon, side by side with the Cross of Naples, the Chains of Navarre which alternate with the Hapsburg emblems. Below is seen the Fillet of Austria, the Flemish arms, the Lily of Artois and the Lion of Brabant, with the bands of Burgundy, and beneath them all is the Pomegranate of Granada. In the little central shield are the Lion of Flanders and the Eagle of Tyrol. Beneath the shield are the Pillars of Hercules connected by a scroll bearing Charles's device "*Plus Ultra*," and all around it hangs the collar and insignia of the Golden Fleece; that famous knightly order founded by a Duke of Burgundy in the early part of the fifteenth century and introduced by Charles into Spain. The King of Spain has been, *ipso facto*, Grand Master of the Order since his time.

No sooner had Charles become the acknowledged ruler of more than half Europe, than he found himself confronted by the jealousy and open hostility of Francis I of France. The French invaded Navarre and laid siege to Pamplona. They were forced to retreat, but their action was destined to have unexpected and far-reaching consequences. One of their cannon balls struck down a young Basque soldier fighting on the battlements, and brought his military career to a close. During the long period of inactivity which followed came the realisation of another soldiership in which he deeply longed to serve, for the young soldier was none other than Ignatius Loyola, and the outcome of his convalescence was the formation of the Society of Jesus.

Charles followed up his success in Navarre by invading the territories of Milan which belonged to France.



EMPIRE of CHARLES V in EUROPE



Inherited from his Father

" " " Mother

" " " Grandfather

By conquest

The Holy Roman Empire

When Francis I himself led his army to the defence of his province, the famous Spanish *Tercios*¹⁴ fell upon him at Pavia, and inflicted upon him so crushing a defeat that he himself was made prisoner and the flower of his army lay dead upon the field. Francis was brought to Spain, and on his way to Madrid was received by the nobility in different parts of the country with the greatest pomp and magnificence. On reaching Guadalajara he was entertained by the Duke del Infantado in his beautiful palace then only recently built. Bull-fights and tourneys were held in honour of the French King, "and the following day the Duke, Don Diego, ordered a fight between wild animals in order to entertain the French King. This he could do with the greatest ease, as in proof of his power and importance he kept a menagerie where he bred lions, tigers, lynxes and other animals of that kind." Thus Francis was conducted to Madrid, where in the following year, 1526, he signed the treaty known as the Peace of Madrid, in which he solemnly renounced his pretensions in Italy and Flanders.

The chief importance of these first years of Charles's reign lies not in Europe, but in the New World, where vast territories were discovered and added to the Spanish Crown. There were many famous adventurers at this time whose stirring exploits considerably altered the history of the world. Chief among them were Magellan, Hernán Cortés, Francisco Pizarro, and besides these there were many others. Magellan, a Portuguese, who had become a naturalised Spaniard, set out from San Lucar in 1519 on an expedition to the Far East. Having explored the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, he rounded the southern extremity of South America in the follow-

¹⁴ Infantry regiments whose prestige still held on the battlefields of Europe.

ing year, and a few months later landed on the Philippine Islands. Here Magellan was assassinated by the natives, and the leadership of the expedition passed to Juan Sebastian Elcano, a native of the little village of Guetaria in Biscay. Of the five ships which comprised the expedition one only returned, the "Victory," which, three years and eighteen days after its departure, sailed triumphantly into San Lucar, September, 1522, thus completing for the first time the voyage round the world.

Hernán Cortés started from Cuba on his expedition to conquer Mexico in 1519. Landing at Vera Cruz and seeing his companions faltering, he ordered that the ships should be burnt, thus forcing the expedition to advance. Three hundred and fifteen Spaniards were all that composed that gallant company which set out on its march to take Mexico City and to subdue the vast Aztec empire of Moctezuma. As they advanced they secured the support of various tribes, and within a few months they were before Mexico. The town surrendered without resistance, and Moctezuma submitted himself to the envoy of Charles V. Subsequently insurrections and disorders broke out, occasioned by divisions and jealousies among the Spaniards themselves, in which there was much bloodshed and loss of life. These were finally repressed after a notable victory won by Cortés at Otumba, and in 1522 Cortés was recognised as the ruler of the country and was appointed Viceroy.

The expeditions of Nuñez de Balboa to the Pacific Coast of Central America opened up a new world to Spanish enterprise and adventure. After repeated delays Francisco Pizarro with some two hundred comrades set out from Panama in 1531 on a hazardous expedition against the Inca Empire, which stretched across the high-

lands of Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. A clever ruse delivered the person of the Emperor into their hands, and in ransom he offered "to fill a room three hundred and seventy-four feet square with gold as high as one could stretch one's hand." The ransom once paid, Pizarro killed the Emperor. His wanton cruelty resulted in a general rising of the Aztecs against the invaders, and had it not been for the timely arrival of Almagro with reinforcements, the Pizarro expedition would have been annihilated. They set about the repression of the natives with such severity that they practically exterminated the race. The city of Lima was founded and became the capital of the new Spanish possessions. Some few years later an expedition under Pedro de Valdivia penetrated to the fertile strip of coast to the South and conquered Chile.

While new and seemingly inexhaustible sources of wealth were thus being added to the resources of Spain, the account of the meeting of the Cortes in Toledo in 1525, when ambassadors from every country in Europe came to treat for the liberation of the French King, show Charles in a blaze of power. It was at this Cortes that the hope was expressed that Charles would marry his cousin Isabella, the sister of the King of Portugal. The advantages of such a union were quickly perceived by the King. He regarded it as a step towards Pan-Iberian unity, the ideal of the Catholic Kings, and also as a means of filling his coffers with the wealth of Spain's great rival in the Orient.

The marriage took place in Seville in 1526 amidst general rejoicing. Seven triumphal arches were erected in the city under which the Empress passed attired in white satin and adorned with pearls and precious stones. "The Archbishop Alfonso Manrique with all the dignitaries and

Canons of the Church bearing the Cross and wearing their vestments, awaited Her Majesty in a doorway where there was an arch of rich and beautiful workmanship and in the centre angels representing the virtues appeared in the heavens. They received Her Majesty and accompanied her to the High Altar to the sweet strains of gentle melodies and when the prayer was said they brought her out by another door and took her to the Alcazar. . . . A little while after midnight the Emperor after Confession and Communion, assisted at Mass said by the Archbishop of Toledo. He it was who performed the marriage ceremony with great solemnity, the Papal Legate having first given the necessary dispensation, as the Emperor and Empress were first cousins and the wedding was being solemnised in Lent.”¹⁵

Not only were the political aspirations of Charles fulfilled in his marriage, his yearning for loyalty and sympathy amid the constant pressing cares of state was abundantly satisfied by the affection and understanding of his wife. The Empress became his closest companion and his most trusted adviser, and he who had merely hoped to gain in her an able Regent to replace him during his constant absences from Spain was to find it more and more difficult to tear himself from her side. The long journeys were punctuated by constant letters to each other detailing the daily tenour of their lives. The endless journeying of his reign was recalled by Charles at the time of his abdication. “Nine times to Germany, six times to Spain, seven times to Italy, ten to the Low Countries, four into France, twice each to England and North Africa, eight crossings of the Mediterranean,

¹⁵Santa Cruz, *Cronica de Carlos V.*

three voyages on the ocean."¹⁶ The greater number of these journeys took place during the lifetime of the Empress. She died in 1539, only a year after Charles had returned to her rejoicing with the glad news of what seemed to be a definitive peace with France, which opened before them the prospect of a long period of life and work together.

A chronicler of the reign has left us an account of the Emperor as he appeared at this time. "The Emperor Don Carlos was of middle height with big handsome eyes, aquiline nose and smooth red hair. . . . Wide shoulders, strong muscular arms, medium-sized rough hands and his legs well proportioned. His mouth was his plainest feature, the lower jaw being so out of proportion with the upper one that the teeth could not close on each other. . . . He was fond of history and moral tales but he grew tired of overmuch reading in his youth and in riper years he devoted himself to philosophy and astronomy, treatises and letters regarding navigation, and to the study of the globe, so that he acquired much scientific learning. . . . He fasted on the vigils of Our Lady and attended a sermon on feast days. . . . The excellence of his memory was shown in the number of languages he knew, Flemish, Italian, French and Spanish, all of which he spoke perfectly as if each were his own mother tongue."¹⁷

The court of the Emperor and Empress was one of great brilliance. The sovereigns were now for the first time given the title of Majesty. The *grandeza* of Spain was instituted, and its members were attached to the court by being appointed to various hereditary offices. The

¹⁶Merriman, *Charles V.*

¹⁷Santa Cruz, *Cronica de Carlos V.*

court buffoon now made his appearance, and more than one of these jesters played a part of some political significance. In spite of magnificence and ostentation, discipline was imposed by the establishment of a strict code of etiquette, and the lives of the two rulers set an example of rectitude and sobriety.

Charles V chose his ministers from every rank, and for the most part his counsellors were of humble origin and dependent on him for their advance in fortune. One of the most important court dignitaries of the time was the King's confessor, who assisted the King in Church, indicated to him when he should kneel and rise, found the places in his missal and directed the choir which "was composed of forty choristers, the very best in Christendom and chosen from the different provinces of the Low Countries, where was the best school of music of those times."¹⁸ In addition to this "the Confessor had access to all the meetings of the Councils where matters of conscience were being discussed. For this reason he could intervene in questions of war and even of justice, matters concerning heretics, the new Christians in Spain, the Moors, usury, wars against Christians and wars against the Infidel."¹⁹ But Charles was careful in the appointment of his confessor. He refused to have his authority curtailed, and we find no one of the stature of a Cardinal Mendoza nor of a Cardinal Cisneros during his reign.

Charles's son, Philip, was born in Valladolid the year after his marriage, and it was during the celebrations which took place in honour of this great event that the news reached him of the sack of Rome. No sooner had

¹⁸ Cavalli, *Letters of Venetian Ambassador*.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

the King of France regained his liberty than he had allied himself with Henry VIII of England and Pope Clement VII against Charles. At this the Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France, who had joined forces with Charles against the King of France, rallied the Imperial troops in Italy. He marched on Rome and took the city by assault, but was killed in the fighting. The soldiers, freed from discipline by the death of their principal leader, sacked the city which for several days was the scene of horrors as awful as those of the time of the Goths. News of all this was brought to Charles as he was presiding at a joust. Immediately he extended his hand in signal for the contest to cease and for the people to disperse. He sent an army to the relief of the Pope and the Cardinals who were imprisoned in the Castel Sant' Angelo, and came to terms with his enemies in the treaty of Cambrai by which his right to his possessions in Italy was once more formally acknowledged. The Pope crowned him Emperor at Bologna, and during the ceremony Charles, wearing his crown and kneeling at the feet of the Pope, solemnly declared "that it was without his orders and even against his will that the army of the Constable of Bourbon had entered Rome" and further that "in sign of his devotion to His Holiness Pope Clement he now placed himself and his army at the feet of the Sovereign Pastor of the Church in readiness to make every reparation which should be asked of him, even to placing his sword in the hands of the Pope."²⁰ Whereupon the Pope, gratified and happy, placed a ring on Charles's finger in sign of reconciliation.

Charles turned from his Italian campaigns to a resumption of Spain's war against the infidel. The power

²⁰ Abbé Héry, *Couronnement des Empereurs par les Papes*.

of the Turk had reached its height under rule of the Sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent, who had penetrated into Hungary and with the aid of vassal princes was pushing forward his power along the southern shores of the Mediterranean. His most important ally was Barbarossa, the ruler of Tunis, who had already ousted the Spaniards from the footholds gained in North Africa, and had made incursions into Sicily. The Empire was thus threatened on every side, and while the King of France was making advances to the Turk, Charles found that his political interest coincided with ancient tradition which designated him as Holy Roman Emperor and King of Spain, Champion of Christendom. He threw himself therefore with enthusiasm into the task of preparing an expedition which was to capture Tunis and put an end forever to the power of Barbarossa, in the Western Mediterranean. He was a born soldier, possessed of a military genius which his contemporaries did not fail to recognise. The Venetian Ambassador, Bernardo Navagero, writes of him in 1541: "Although he has and has had the greatest generals in his service, Prosper Colonna, Pescara, Bourbon, Antonia de Leyva, the Duke of Alba, Fernando de Gonzaga, Prince Doria, yet the common opinion is that there is no greater commander than the Emperor himself. This Prince cannot hide his pleasure in going to war. In camp he is happy and full of life, and whereas he appears singularly serious and reserved in town and elsewhere, once with the army he wants to be everywhere to see and hear everything, and, forgetting that he is the great Emperor, he takes upon himself the duties of a simple Captain."²¹

Spain was the part of the empire where most enthu-

²¹*Letters of Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador.*

siasm was shown in the crusade, and Spanish troops made up an even greater proportion of the army than was the case in other European campaigns. That they were not in default in Germany and Italy is proved by the figures which are on record and which show the tercios to have constituted the backbone of the forces which carried the Imperial Eagles to victory on the Danube, in Italy, in the Netherlands and in Germany.

The Emperor's fleet sailed from Barcelona in company with that of Andrea Doria, to join the forces of the allies at Cagliari in Sardinia. Here they found assembled the Italian contingent under the Marquis de Vasto which included the Papal galleons and the ships of the Knights of Malta. The harbour presented a brave spectacle with the lordliest ships of all Christendom swaying and dancing on the rippling waves. On the arrival of Charles the other fleets "with their ensigns and banners flying passed in front of the galleon of his Majesty and saluted with shouts, and sounding of trumpet and clarion and salvoes of artillery. To which the various ships of his Majesty's fleet replied likewise. Then the Flagship of his Majesty's fleet, followed by the rest, passed through the middle of that army of vessels and soldiers of the Marquis, who on seeing the standard of the Crucifix and the arms of his Majesty unfurled and floating in the air, discharged their arquebuses and heavy artillery so that one could see nothing on the water but smoke and fire. And the army was thus assembled, and the immense number of ships and other vessels with their sails furled seemed like a forest of trees when their branches are bare in the winter."²² From here they sailed south to the coast of Africa.

²²Guillaume de Montoiche, *Expédition de Charles V au Pays de Tunis 1535*.

The attack was directed against the fortress of La Goleta, which stood on a neck of land protecting Tunis and was one of the most impregnable strongholds in the Mediterranean. The three weeks' siege which preceded its fall is one of the most brilliant feats of arms of the sixteenth century, and when the mighty citadel finally gave way before the assault of the Spanish batteries and Tunis surrendered, the whole of Europe rang with the accounts of the victory. Congratulations were sent by the Pope, the siege was painted, and the event formed the subject of the magnificent set of Brussels tapestries now in the Royal Palace in Madrid. Barbarossa was reinstated in Tunis as a vassal of the Emperor, his Christian captives were liberated, and he undertook to give no help to Charles's enemies.

It was unfortunate that the expedition which Charles undertook against Algiers some years later should have resulted in so hopeless a failure. The ascendancy gained at Tunis was entirely broken down, Christian arms lost prestige, and the Barbary pirates renewed their depredations with increased confidence.

Throughout the whole of the reign of Charles V, Germany had been torn by religious strife between Catholic and Protestant princes. Charles had definitely declared against Lutheranism at the Diet of Worms in 1521, but the means of suppressing the heresy by force of arms was then lacking. Insurrection in Spain was followed by a French invasion, to which in turn succeeded the wars in Italy against the League and the campaigns against the infidel. In this way a quarter of a century elapsed before Charles could turn his attention to enforcing religious unity in his German possessions.

In the autumn of 1544 the Pope at the entreaty of



TAKING OF TUNIS

Takings of Tunis, Tunisian

the Emperor summoned a General Council of Christendom to meet at Trent. At this Council, which opened in the following year, not one of the Lutheran princes was present. Their non-appearance made war inevitable, and Charles began military preparations forthwith. He mustered the famous Spanish tercios, which were reinforced by troops from the Netherlands and Italy. The most formidable of his opponents was the Elector of Saxony, and it was against his forces that Charles engaged at the Battle of Mühlberg. The Elector was encamped on the banks of the Elbe. The white mists of morning still hung over the river as some dozen Spaniards from the Imperialist army swam across, their swords between their teeth. They silently dispatched the guard and brought back the boats which enabled Charles and his light horse to cross. The Emperor pursued the army, which meantime had retreated, and gave battle. The Elector was taken prisoner, his army scattered. Charles is reported to have announced his victory with the words, "*Veni, vidi, vicit Deus.*" The result of the campaign was the triumph of Catholicism in Germany, and Charles set about a series of reforms in the internal administration of the country which were calculated to consolidate Catholic ascendancy. But the Emperor was out of sympathy with his German subjects, who, among other grievances, bitterly resented his efforts to make the Empire hereditary in his own family. In 1551 a confederation of the princes under Maurice de Saxe with the support of France, rose against Charles who was obliged to flee for his life from Innsbruck across the stormy Brenner pass and to take refuge in a tiny village in Carinthia. In the sleet and snow of that flight perished all hope of re-establishing Roman

Catholicism as the sole religion of the Holy Roman Empire.

Convinced of the hopelessness of regaining his ascendancy in the Empire and balked in his attempt to secure the succession of his son Philip, he sought to balance his losses by adding to his power and prestige elsewhere. It was at this moment that the project of a marriage alliance between Philip and Mary Tudor presented itself to the Emperor's mind. England would serve as a bulwark to the Low Countries, and France, wedged in between the possessions of the King of Spain, would be reduced to a position of dependence. When the matter was broached to the Prince he signified his willingness to fall in with the scheme, "for," he writes to the Emperor, "you know that I am so obedient a son that I have no will other than yours especially in a matter of such high import." The marriage alliance was finally negotiated, and Philip was married to Queen Mary of England in the Cathedral of Winchester in July, 1554. The high hopes entertained by the Emperor were not destined to be fulfilled, for Mary was to have no heir.

For many years Charles had entertained the wish to lay down the cares of his vast dominions and to seek retirement and repose for soul and body. It was in October, 1555, that he at last carried his purpose into effect. In the great hall of the Palace at Brussels where the members of the States General, the Governors and chief officials of the Empire were assembled, the Emperor, attended by his sister and his son, solemnly laid down his honours and titles and renounced the crown and throne of the Netherlands in favour of Philip. In the early days of the following year, 1556, in the presence of his sisters and a few Spanish nobles, he abdicated all his Spanish

possessions in the Old World and in the New. Philip was proclaimed King at Valladolid, and the Emperor set out to the retreat which awaited him in the Hieronymite monastery at Yuste in Extremadura. Here he rested for the little span of life which remained to him, free from the burden of responsibilities which had lain heavy upon him during forty years. He died in 1558, and was buried without pomp or display in the grounds of the monastery.

Three months later, however, there took place in Brussels a magnificent funeral service organised by Philip and described by those present as a fit tribute from so dear a son to so "great and notable a Prince." The route was lined by members of the City Council carrying lighted torches. The long procession issued from the palace preceded by the Crucifix and acolytes carrying wax candles. Then followed courtiers, trumpeters, halberdiers and kings-at-arms carrying the Emperor's shield. Then came a great ship drawn by griffins signifying the conquest of the Indies and the Pillars of Hercules with the Emperor's device drawn by sea monsters to indicate his mastery on sea. The other possessions of the Emperor were represented by a horse and a banner with the special arms, badge and colours of each. The Emperor's shield, his helmet, his sword and coat of mail were all borne by great court dignitaries. The Collar of the Order, the Imperial Sceptre, the Imperial Sword, the Orb and the Imperial Crown all appeared in this sumptuous cortège. Then came King Philip himself, attended by a crowd of Councillors and Ambassadors. They proceeded to the Church of St. Gudule, which was all draped in black. Three thousand wax candles glowed and flickered on a dais before the altar, and the Emperor's three diadems hung over the catafalque. There was a long service which

we are told came to an end with a sermon in French, "and with it came the end of Charles V. May he rest in peace."

PHILIP II

Philip II became the sovereign of Flanders in 1555, and in the following year he succeeded the Emperor on the throne of Spain. He found himself almost immediately involved in hostilities with the King of France, who sought to undermine the power of the neighbour who threatened him on either side. At the Battle of St. Quentin the Spaniards under the great general Manuel of Savoy won a brilliant victory over the French. The taking of Calais from England at the end of the year somewhat retrieved the prestige of French arms, but a crushing defeat at Gravelines some months later forced Henry II to sue for peace. The treaty of Cateau Cambr sis was the outcome of the negotiations, and peace was guaranteed by the marriage between Philip II, a widower for the second time by the death of Mary Tudor, and Isabel de Valois, daughter of Henry II of France.

The war with France thus concluded, Philip hastened to Spain. He was received with general acclamation and rejoicing, for a strong bond of sympathy existed between the King and his Spanish subjects which was wholly lacking in his dealings with the Flemish people. He had been born in Spain, he spoke only Castilian, and his character and tastes were essentially Spanish. The marriage of Philip to the French Princess was made the occasion of a great popular demonstration of satisfaction, and there was much feasting and gaiety throughout the country. The city of Toledo, described by Cabrera as the "head of Spain and of all Europe," gave the new Queen a most magnificent reception. On the flat ground at the entrance to the



PHILIP II

town were assembled eight companies of infantry in splendid uniforms and a regiment of cavalry, their horses caparisoned with rich Moorish cloths of many various colours and beautiful designs. On the arrival of the Queen they prepared for battle, and there seems to have been an exciting and highly convincing sham fight. This was followed by dances, sword dances, Moorish dances and a dance performed with much grace by the fencing masters. This concluded, the Queen, leaning on the arm of the Archbishop of Burgos, advanced amid a brilliant cortège to the cathedral "celebrated for its sanctity and its riches," where sacred dances were performed, among them a dance of the giants which the chronicler describes as "a very old custom which always seems good."

A description of Philip as he appeared to his contemporaries is given us by an Englishman who saw him on the occasion of his marriage to Mary Tudor: "Of visage he is well-favoured with a broad forehead and grey eyes, straight-nosed and manly countenance. From the forehead to the point of his chin his face groweth small, his pace is princely, and gait so straight and upright as he loseth no inch of height, with a yellow head and a yellow beard. And, thus to conclude, he is so well proportioned of body, arm, leg and every other limb to the same, nature cannot work a more perfect pattern."²³

Charles V had long associated Philip in the government of the country and from early childhood had sought to train him in the management and affairs of State. We are told that two or three hours each day were passed by Philip in the Emperor's rooms, either to assist at a Council meeting or to study under his father's directions. When Charles was absent he repeatedly sent letters of advice

²³John Elder. Cited by P. F. Tyler, *England under Edward VI and Mary*.

and instructions to his son, and from his retirement in Yuste he wrote out a number of counsels which may be said to sum up the lessons of his long life. He stressed the necessity of confiding the great offices of State to people of brains and industry, and in this particular direction the reforms of Philip were drastic and far-reaching. Public appointments were given to those who held university degrees, and in no case did rank or riches influence the monarch in his choice. The King himself intervened in every detail of the administration, even directing the exact form of wording of documents and letters. The vast business of State was divided among the Councils, some ten of which were in existence at the accession of Philip, who added three more, namely, those of the Indies, Portugal and Flanders. It would be almost impossible to credit the accounts given of Philip's activity in the administration of his realms, were it not for the existence of masses of documents in the archives of all the principal countries of Europe, either written entirely by the King or profusely annotated by him. He hardly moved from the centre of government after his arrival in Spain in 1559, and the remaining forty years of his reign found him constantly in Castile. His eldest son, Don Carlos, contrasting his father and his grandfather, wrote: "Charles V goes from Madrid to Tunis, Philip II from Madrid to Escorial. Charles V journeys from Tunis to Italy, Philip II from Escorial to Madrid."

Philip II transferred the capital from Toledo to Madrid, but his favourite residence was the Escorial, that vast building on the slopes of the Guadarrama which he himself planned and directed, palace, monastery and mausoleum. Here it was that he gathered up the multitudinous threads of government of that vast empire on which the

sun never set. Here in a little room looking out over the vast and rugged plain of Castile, he "gave audience with the greatest facility to all who asked it." Eight or nine hours each day he spent, pen in hand, writing notes, instructions, revising plans, drawing up new schemes, answering petitions and examining proposals of the Councils. He carried on a vast correspondence with the sovereigns of Europe, the Pope, the dignitaries of the Church, St. Ignatius, St. Teresa, all the outstanding people of the time. "His rapidity in dealing with the proposals of the Council of State, of Government and of War and many other matters, great and small, correcting, deleting, adding, is incredible and there has never yet been seen or heard anything to compare with it."²⁴

In his love of order and unity he was a true successor to the Catholic Kings, and during his reign the final unification of the Peninsula was achieved by the annexation of Portugal in 1578. Sebastian, King of Portugal, died fighting the Moors in Africa, and in default of heirs the crown passed to his aged uncle, the Cardinal Enrique. Philip thereupon asserted his claim to succeed to the throne of Portugal through his mother, the Empress Isabel, eldest sister of John III, the preceding King of Portugal. Although the claim was approved by the leading juriconsults of the time, the Portuguese, on the death of the Cardinal, refused to accept Philip as King. Philip dispatched a fleet under the command of Spain's great Admiral, the Marques de Santa Cruz, and an army under the brilliant leadership of the Duke of Alba, which seized Lisbon and overran the country. Philip, recognised King by the Cortes in 1581, swore to respect the laws and privileges of the realm, and appointed the Archduke Albert Viceroy.

²⁴Salazar de Mendoza, *Monarquía de España*.

In the exercise of a personal despotic rule Philip was constantly brought into collision with local privileges and rights which were still strong in the various provinces of Spain. These discrepancies in the uniformity of rule were deeply irritating to Philip, and it was with alacrity that he availed himself of the opportunity given to him by Aragon to make his power felt in that region. The Justiciar of Aragon gave shelter to the King's secretary, Antonio Perez, who had been accused of murder and imprisoned in Castile. Perez fled to his native Aragon, but the King ordered that he should be seized and imprisoned in the cells of the Inquisition. This was regarded by the Aragonese as an infringement on the rights of their Justiciar, who had been in possession of the person of the accused. There was a rising, the Inquisition prison was attacked and Antonio Perez was liberated and fled to France. The King, unable to brook such opposition to his will, ordered troops to march on Saragossa. The Justiciar was executed, and henceforth the King reserved for himself the right to name the Justiciar of Aragon.

If Philip was zealous in imposing order and unity in the affairs of State, he was no less anxious to preserve the unity of the Church and to defend his realms from the disintegrating influence of the new doctrines. The Inquisition was sedulous in preserving purity of dogma, and any departure from absolute orthodoxy was met by severity and repression. Its activities were chiefly directed against Moors and New Christians; the writings of Spanish theologians too were submitted to minute examination. Philip was utterly sincere in his desire to suppress heresy and to preserve his subjects in the one true fold; by this he won for himself the title of Knight of the Faith. His activities beyond the borders of Spain were based on the conviction

that his duty called upon him to intervene in order to stem the rising flood of the Reformation. He himself makes this clear in a letter addressed to the Cortes in 1588: "God Himself is my witness that it is not the hope of gaining new kingdoms that has guided me, but rather it is zeal in His service and the desire to glorify the holy faith that has led me to risk my patrimony, the cause of God, the honour of the State and my own honour."

The attempt to combat the new teaching by force of arms was nowhere to prove more disastrous than in the Netherlands. The establishment of a tribunal with powers similar to those of the Inquisition provoked a rising in the Low Countries led by the Counts Egmont and Horn and by William of Nassau, Prince of Orange. Philip, hoping to stamp out the entire movement by immediate severity, sent the Duke of Alba at the head of the tercios to punish the rebels. Counts Egmont and Horn were executed, as well as many of their followers, and William of Orange was forced to flee to Germany. Order was restored, and for a few years was maintained at the point of the sword. In the meantime William of Orange recruited an army of followers, and in 1572 he placed himself at the head of a general insurrection which broke out all over the country. The following year Luis de Requesens was sent to replace the Duke of Alba and to treat with the insurrectionaries. He was succeeded in time by Don Juan of Austria and Alexander Farnese. The Flemings came to terms, but no basis of agreement could be arrived at with the Northern Provinces. In 1581 they formed the Union of Utrecht under Maurice of Nassau, the son of William, and declared themselves an independent state. Peace and satisfaction were restored in the Flemish provinces, when the King ceded these in 1597 to

his favourite daughter, the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, on her marriage to the Archduke Albert. The general contentment was voiced by the deputies of the States General, who appreciated the very marked honour which the King showed them in appointing as Governor his daughter, "a lady of eminent virtue who lives a retired life like a nun. She is very much beloved by her father, who converses with her on most important affairs of State." There was also another reason for their gratification, for, "being married to a Prince of the same name, blood and lineage, which our ancestors have always so much respected, and gifted as he is with the same virtues, he will please not only all the Provinces but also the Princes of the neighbouring countries."²⁵

The arrival of the new rulers initiated a term of order and settled government in Flanders which allowed the country to revive after the ravages of almost thirty years of warfare. All attempts to re-incorporate the Northern Provinces proved entirely fruitless, and Spain was at last forced to recognise their independence.

Another aspect of Philip's zeal to establish unity in Christendom, which involved him almost continually in war with the enemies of the Church, was his treatment of the followers of Mahomet both at home and abroad. The Moors in the South, although they had apparently become Christians on the taking of Granada, continued to practise their religion. Strict laws against them were promulgated by Philip and were rigidly enforced by him. The Moriscos, seeing themselves obliged to give up their dress, their customs and their language and to hand over their children to be educated by Christians, rose up in rebellion in 1568. The movement was sustained for two

²⁵Cited by Gachard, *Discours du Pensionnaire des États de Brabant*.

years in the hills round Granada, and then Don Juan of Austria took command of the royal forces and stamped out the revolt.

Meantime the Turks had continued to make inroads in Europe and were daily becoming a greater menace to the Christian states. In response to an urgent appeal from the Pope, Philip II decided to join the Holy League with Venice and the Papacy to withstand, and if possible to crush, the growing powers of the Sultan. The co-operation of Spain was of primary importance, for few other states commanded a finer navy. Philip had reinforced it and fostered its growth, and had hired from Genoa and other shipping centres the largest and best constructed vessels.

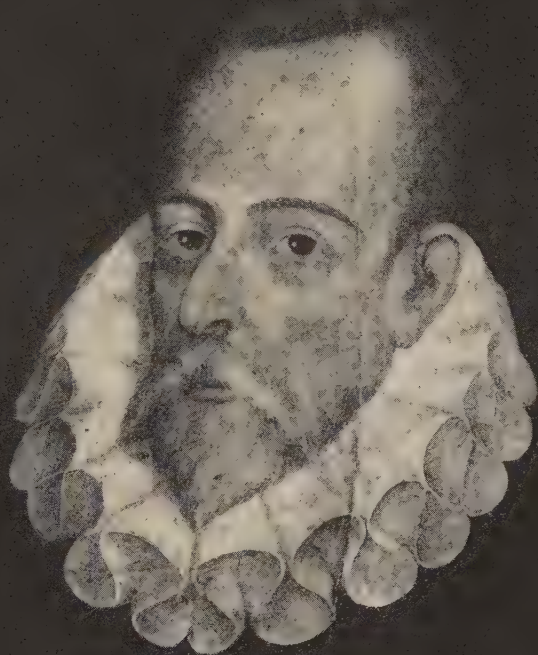
Don Juan of Austria, in compliance with the express wishes of Pope Pius V, was given command of the entire expedition. He set out with the fleet from Barcelona, and after visiting various coastal towns, he arrived at Genoa where he was magnificently entertained at a banquet followed by a masked ball in the Doria Palace. At Naples he was received with general enthusiasm and rejoicing, and here in the Church of Santa Clara he received the Banner of Lepanto which the Pope sent him with his special blessing. The Banner, which now hangs in the Cathedral of Toledo, is of blue damask on which the arms of the Pope appear below the Crucifix. On the right is the shield of Spain, on the left that of Venice. At Messina Don Juan joined the Venetians under Colonna and Veniero, the aged soldier whom Titian has painted with the venerable head of silvery hair belied by the brightness and keenness of eye and the stern look of command in the whole face.

Such an armament had never before been seen as was

there assembled in the Sicilian bay. Don Juan had at his command upwards of three hundred sail and an army of some eighty thousand men. The Spanish fleet alone numbered one hundred and sixty-four ships under the Marquis de Santa Cruz. It is of interest to note that among the personnel was the great Cervantes, who was to bear the mark of the coming fight for the remainder of his life.

On September 17th the Vicar General of the Fleet celebrated High Mass on board the flagship, at which Don Juan and all the leaders assisted. At its conclusion the fleet set sail. It was not until the beginning of October that news reached Don Juan as to the whereabouts of the enemy. Ali Pasha, the Turkish Admiral, was in favour of fighting, and while sheltering in the Bay of Lepanto, he had called upon all the resources of the vicinity to equip the ships for the struggle he saw ahead. Here Don Juan determined to seek him out, and at last on October 7th the two fleets met. Don Juan ordered the Banner of Lepanto to be unfurled. The battle was long and desperate. The Moslems were superior to the Christians in numbers, but the latter had better ammunition and fought with greater determination, for there was hardly a soldier in the Christian army who did not burn to avenge the torture or death of some friend or relation. The fight resulted in a brilliant victory for Don Juan. Ali Pasha was slain, and the Turkish fleet, rendered helpless, lay at the mercy of the Christian conquerors.

A description of the battle by a monk of the Escorial runs as follows: "On the 7th day of the month of October in the year 1571 the galleys of the Holy League, those of Spain, those of Pope Pius V and those of Venice, fought against the fleet of our enemy the Turk and defeated it, taking one hundred and eighty galleys, thirty-nine of them



CERVANTES

with fanal, sinking sixty and seizing many other boats. Twenty thousand Turks were beheaded, six thousand were made prisoners; fifteen thousand Christians were liberated from the Turkish galleys."²⁶

The news of the victory of the Cross over the Crescent, of Occident over Orient, was received with triumphant rejoicing throughout all Christendom. The feast of the Holy Rosary was instituted in honour of this triumph, and a new invocation, *Auxilium Christianorum*, was added to the Litany. The account of Philip's reception of the news is significant in that it reveals an interesting aspect of his most complex character. The King was at vespers in the choir of the Escorial when the Prior "in a loud voice and not with his accustomed composure announced the tidings of the great victory. His Majesty neither moved nor spoke nor did he show any change of feeling, but preserved the same appearance and the same serenity until Vespers were over. Then he called the Prior to him . . . and ordered that the *Te Deum* should be sung and that the usual prayers should be said to return thanks to God . . . and then the King, my Lord, retired to his apartments rejoicing greatly and full of happiness at the good news."²⁷

Had Philip acceded to the repeated demands of Don Juan and dispatched reinforcements to him in Sicily, had he taken the advice of old and tried soldiers, such as the Duke of Alba, to follow up the victory by chasing the Turk from the seas, by burning the forests which supplied him with wood for his galleys, and thus carrying the prestige of Christian arms into the adversary's own country, it is highly probable that the Turk would have been

²⁶*Relación de Lepanto por Fray Juan de San Jeronimo. Doc. Inéd.*

²⁷*Ibid.*

finally expelled from Europe and the whole course of subsequent history altered.

Throughout his entire reign, Philip's most formidable enemy was Elizabeth of England. Not only was she a heretic who persecuted the members of that Church which Philip served as a devoted son, she was also the chief supporter of the rebels in the Netherlands. In addition, her great sea-captains, Drake and Hawkins, made repeated piratical expeditions to the Spanish Main, and England was fast becoming a rival to Spain in the New World. During the lifetime of Mary Stuart, Philip could take no overt action against Elizabeth, knowing, as he did, that should she be dethroned, Mary, and through her the Guise family, would reign in England. Mary's execution in 1586 removed all chance of such an eventuality. It was then, in view of the edict of excommunication which the Pope had launched against Elizabeth that Philip laid claim to the English throne and instantly prepared to make good his claim by force of arms. In May, 1588, the great fleet, one hundred and thirty ships in all, set sail from Lisbon under the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia. From the mast of the great galleon, the *Capitana*, floated Philip's standard with the verse "*Exsurge Deus et vindica causam tuam.*" The Armada, called in documents of the time the "*felicissima*," met with bad weather from the start. As it swung up the Channel, Drake emerged from Plymouth and harried it into Calais. Here for days the Duke of Medina Sidonia awaited the arrival of the army of Alexander Farnese which he was to convey to the English shores. Farnese did not come, and after waiting in vain Medina Sidonia sailed out of Calais once more. He was met by the English fleet of light swift craft suitable for navigation in those narrow stormy seas.

The cumbersome Spanish ships were hustled into disorder, fire ships were sent among them to increase the confusion and they fled to the North Sea. Having rounded the north of Scotland, they were overtaken by a shattering storm in the wild Atlantic waters off the coast of Ireland, which wreaked destruction upon them. An account of the time records that numbers of the crews were rescued and sheltered by a certain chieftain named Ruerque, "a good Christian and an enemy to the heretics with whom he was ever at war." There sailed back to Spain only sixty-five of the great galleons. When the news was brought to Philip he replied with serenity and resignation, "Against men I sent it, but not against the winds and the waves." It was a shattering blow to Spain's naval power, and although the war with England continued spasmodically for another ten years, the supremacy of Spain on sea, so gloriously manifested at Lepanto, passed irrevocably to England.

Philip II died in the Escorial in 1598. His bitter regret was the thought of his son's inadequacy to rule in his place. His eldest son, Don Carlos, who was mentally deranged, had died in seclusion in 1568. His heir therefore was Philip, his son by his fourth wife, Anna of Austria, and it was in reference to him that the King exclaimed, "God who has given me so many kingdoms has denied me a son to rule over them."

The seeds of the decay of the Spanish empire lay already within that vast political organisation. The expenditure on long foreign wars had been met by crushing loans from Flemish and Italian bankers. Finance, based on bars of gold and silver from America, was in a disastrous state. Agriculture was neglected, and the rise of prices consequent on the import of bullion was soon to result in a decrease of commerce.

Nevertheless, the reign of Philip II was one of exceptional brilliance and splendour. The chronicles of the time are coloured with descriptions of feastings, celebrations and rejoicings, of pleasant residences and gardens and of interest in learning and the arts. The account of Philip's reception of the King of Portugal in the Monastery of Guadalupe describes the rich tapestries with which the rooms were hung, the covers of embroidered velvet spangled with gold and silver, the bed "of gold, silver and purple cloth covered with a fine gold and silver net, the bed curtains of gold and silver brocade, and the cover, the back and the chairs of the same."²⁸ It goes on to say that the dinner was cooked by his Majesty's own chef and consisted of sixteen meat courses, not counting the preliminaries and the dessert, which brought the number up to twice that figure.

Philip was an assiduous patron of the arts and of learning. Following the old Burgundian tradition he attached artists to his court, and thus Pantoja de la Cruz was appointed court painter. A veritable army of artists was employed in the Escorial, and royal patronage gave fresh impetus to artistic activities and attracted foreign artists to come to Spain. Among these latter may be noted the famous El Greco.

The list of universities, colleges and schools which were either created or reorganised by Philip is a long one. Colleges for Irish students were established at Salamanca and Alcalá and for Scottish students at Valladolid. Philip's library at the Escorial contained no less than four thousand rare volumes in Hebrew, Greek and Latin as well as in Castilian and Limousin. Archives were established at Simancas. It was a time when books were held in

²⁸ *Documenta Bbl. Nat.* Paris. Edited Morel-Fatio.

respect, and we hear of jewels being offered as a guarantee of security when precious books were borrowed by scholars. At the University of Salamanca there were no fewer than sixty Chairs, including those of canon law, medicine, theology, logic, philosophy and Greek. The students seem to have numbered some six thousand and to have come from all parts of Europe,—Italy, France, Germany, England,—and even from the Indies. Only a very few of these, however, were able to take the degrees of Licentiate or Doctor on account of the cost of the procedure involved in the ceremony. All the professors had to be invited, and each of those who attended had to receive “two gold doubloons, a torch, a box of preserved lemon peel, a pound of sugar plums and three pairs of chickens.” There took place a procession, bull-fights, and a banquet on the preceding afternoon, and during the examination a supper was served which consisted of “a bird, not a peacock nor a turkey, a dish of blancmange, dessert of fruit, bread and wine.”²⁹

Intellectual activity spread also to the New World, where Charles V had founded the University of Mexico in 1551. Nautical science, astronomy, map-making, were all studied widely and treatises were written on these subjects. Descriptive accounts of the Indies, the Moluccas, the Philippines, “distinguished for their precision,” began to make their appearance. The botany, the natural history and the mineralogy of the New World were studied. New metallurgical methods were introduced in the working of the mines, some of which are still in use, and no fewer than one hundred and seventy species of plants and animals were introduced into America.

In Spain the convents and monasteries were harbours

²⁹ Aubrey Bell, *Luis de León*.

for learning and piety, and most of the great educational centres as well as the important literary and scientific collections of the day were sheltered by them. They sent missionaries to the Indies who spread there the civilisation of the Old World. The Venetian Ambassador described the Spanish convents in 1573 as "seminaries of goodness and learning." Thus while she withstood the inroads of the Reformation, Spain also escaped the corruption which had invaded the precincts of Catholicism.

While Philip II lived, Spain's power remained paramount in Europe. She owned a vast world beyond the seas and within her borders literature, art and science flourished with unparalleled brilliance.

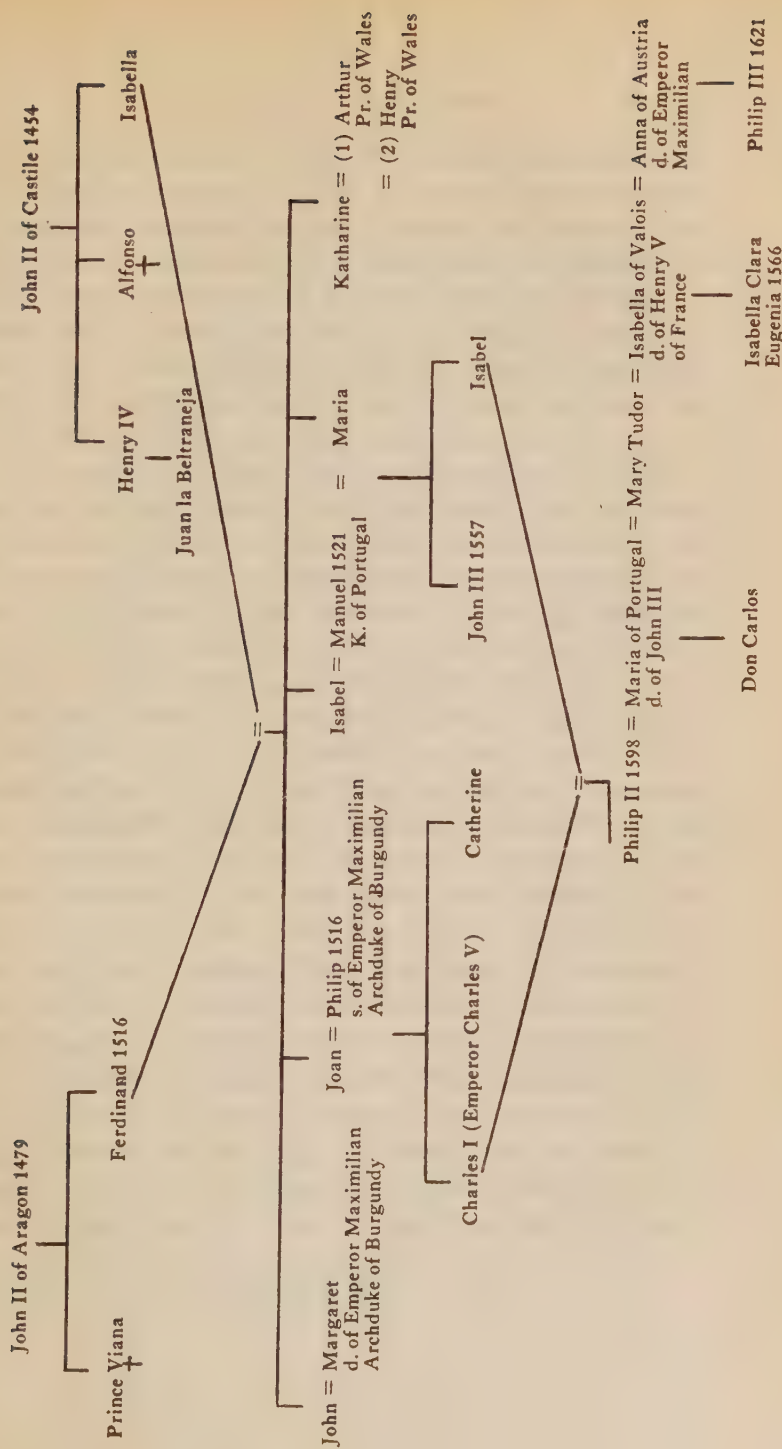
PHILIP III

When Philip III ascended the throne, Spain had reached a turning point in her history. The conduct of affairs during the ensuing years was to be the determining factor which would either consolidate her power or allow it to dissipate and disseminate itself, thereby destroying her authority and prestige.

It was unfortunate, therefore, that the King who was called to rule at such a time should have possessed so few of the qualities which would have enabled him to deal successfully with the existing situation. The impending crisis was bound to be a severe test of the wisdom, strength and patience of even the greatest monarch; and Philip, whose twenty-one years had been passed in the strictest retirement at the Escorial under the tutelage of the Duke of Lerma, was little fitted for the task.

The character of Philip III as it appeared to his contemporaries has been outlined by John Sobieski, father of John III of Poland, who travelled through Spain in the

RULERS OF SPAIN 1500 TO 1600



year 1611. He writes, "Philip III, a very pious monarch and a devoted servant of God; his whole time was taken up with his devotions and with hunting and expeditions. With greater inclination for private than for public life, he left the government of the country to the Prince of Lerma who directed everything as though he were the King. The affection the King held for him and the confidence he placed in him were so great that at one time this Prince was absolute sovereign of all Spain."³⁰

The letters of Philip III to his children tend to emphasise the traits suggested in this slight sketch, and show us the unassuming, unambitious country gentleman, absorbed in the conscientious performance of the simple duties of every day, fervent in his devotions, a devoted husband and father. He constantly sends sweetmeats and bibelots to his daughter Anne, married to Louis XIII of France, feeling her absence from the family circle and fearing she should miss the little dainties of her own country. The counsels given her on her marriage and written in his own hand demonstrate his piety and integrity. "First of all you must recommend your being and your possessions to the infinite goodness of God, submitting your desires to His will . . . from whose hand we receive the crown we wear, and from whom we hope, if we make the proper use of it, to receive a greater one in Heaven."³¹ He goes on to exhort her to attend Mass daily, to make frequent use of the Sacraments, to be good to the poor and above all to avoid idleness. A pleasantly human touch appears in one of the letters when the King expresses a wish to have his daughter's portrait in French costume, which he had heard became her well. "But I would like that the dress

³⁰ *Viage de Jacobo Sobieski*. Ed. by Javier Liske.

³¹ *Cartas de Felipe III*. Pubd. Rodriguez Villa.

should not be too décolletée, for I do not think this can be good from any point of view, although it may be the fashion.”³²

Philip was eminently suited to lead a blameless life as a private citizen; he was wholly unfitted to conduct the immense affairs of State. He had no conception of the importance or significance of political problems and his own peculiar position as King in the existing intricacies of administrative development. Feeling his inability and incapacity, he left the affairs of State to the guidance of the man who, as his own tutor and mentor, had gained his affection and his entire confidence.

The Duke of Lerma was the first of a series of all-powerful ministers, king's favourites, who throughout the seventeenth century directed the government of Spain, and contributed by the opposition and discontent which they aroused to bring its fortunes to the lowest ebb. Envy and bitterness were evoked in the ranks of the nobility by the elevation of one of themselves to a commanding position in the State, and the court became a whirlpool of plots and dissensions. Political measures were but the moves in the great game of intrigue among the nobles, and questions of national and of international importance came to be regarded from the viewpoint of personal expediency. In the twenty-three years of Philip's reign it became clear even to the King himself that his inaction had been calamitous for the country, and in his last hours he turned to his confessor, saying, "A good account indeed we shall have to give to God of our rule! Oh! If Providence would see fit to prolong my life, how differently would I act!"³³

³²*Ibid.*

³³Quoted by D. Manuel Danvila, *Conferencias*, 1889.

The Duke of Lerma was a man of limited intelligence and narrow conceptions. In order to consolidate his position he proceeded to fill every post in the kingdom with his relations and friends, thereby stirring up the hatred of those families whose members found themselves deprived of the positions they had held hitherto. He simultaneously satisfied the demands on his purse and on his patronage by selling the offices of State, and when this source of supply was exhausted he proceeded to sell the right of succeeding to these offices at the death of the actual holder. His influence extended to every detail of life at court and in the administration. The royal family were unable to see each other without his sanction, and at his behest the capital of Spain was moved in 1600 from Madrid to Valladolid, where the court resided for five years.

The most important event of the reign of Philip III was the expulsion of the Moriscos. From the time of the Reconquest, the Moors who remained in Christian territory were expected to conform to the religion and customs of the conquerors. The Catholic Kings, pursuing their policy of unification and consolidation, enforced the laws which obliged the Moors to conform or to leave the country, and the Inquisition had directed its activities against them. It was impossible, however, to bring about the fusion of the two races. The two peoples regarded each other with contempt and suspicion, and there were constant quarrels arising out of this mutual antagonism. The Moors all over the country, and particularly in Valencia, where they were more numerous and more concentrated, continued to resist authority, to plot and conspire with the enemies of Spain. They nourished the hope and belief that in time they would be able to overthrow their

conquerors, and an active correspondence was maintained and help solicited from the King of France and from the rulers of Morocco and Algiers.

The expulsion of the Moors had been decreed by each sovereign in turn, with the exception of Philip II. The discovery at the beginning of the reign of Philip III of renewed negotiations with France for support in a plot to rebel, stiffened the decision of the Council of State, and an edict was drawn up ordering the execution of every able-bodied Moor and the expulsion of all others. The Church replied to this with a plea for clemency, and the saintly Archbishop of Valencia, Blessed John de Ribera, initiated an intensive campaign by preaching and exhortation to win over the recalcitrants and so spare them from the punishment impending. The nobles also protected the Moors, for they were the agriculturists and industrial workers of the country, and on their activity the fortunes of many of the great families depended.

The result of the campaign was merely to increase the opposition of the Moors; piratical attacks on the coasts continued with their connivance; and finally in 1609 a decree against them was drawn up and promulgated. According to this decree their lives were to be spared, but they were one and all to leave the country without delay.

The measure met with widespread popular support, and in some parts of the country this was shown by violent demonstrations, which were quelled only by the intervention of the troops specially mustered to protect the banished race. Even the nobles had come to concur in the measure, and a splendid example of loyalty was given by the Duke of Gandia, a record of which exists in a letter in the ducal archives. He himself saw the five hundred Moriscos who lived on his domains embark with their

families and set off for Africa under the care of one of his own family. Returning from the quayside, he addressed a letter to the King in which he reported the execution of the royal order and though he was thereby almost utterly ruined he added, "I consider myself well paid for all these losses in having served Your Majesty; for that reason was my House founded."³⁴

From an economic point of view the results of the expulsion of the Moriscos were disastrous for the country. They were the tillers of the soil, the silk weavers, the glass blowers, the potters, and not only did Spain lose in them patient workers and able artisans, but also the industries which they had carried on. Both agricultural labour and manual work were so despised by the Spaniards that there were few who could replace the banished race. In addition, the sudden exodus of such numbers of people left parts of the country unpopulated and whole villages deserted.

It cannot be maintained, however, that this measure was the main cause of the decline of the prosperity in Spain. A traveller in Andalusia, where the Moriscos formed a large part of the population, describes the country a few years after the event in the following terms: "Everywhere the eye rests on extensive woods of lemon trees, olives, cypresses, date palms and on vines which produce very good wine." This would support the assertion that the south was soon repopulated by people from the Pyrenees, and the prejudice against working on the land was at least temporarily overcome. The depopulation of Spain had begun long before the Moriscos were banished, and as early as 1602 the Cortes at Valladolid complained of the constant decrease in the population of Cas-

³⁴Cited by Manuel Danvila, *Conferencias*.

tile. The causes for the decadence, which from now on became more and more apparent, must be sought elsewhere.

With regard to the expulsion of the Moriscos, the significance of the event lies in the fact that it was the final step in the long process of liberating Spain not only from Moorish rule, but also from Moorish influence. Spain thus finally threw off the last remnant of her African invaders. She had tried the experiment of fusion, and the races had proved wholly incompatible. Economic reasons may have played a part in delaying the measure, but, in view of the fact that it is impossible to rule a state solely in accordance with the exigencies of material advantage, it was inevitable that a final rupture should eventually occur. The Moriscos had been unwelcome guests, and indications that their presence was no longer desirable on Spanish soil had been repeatedly given them. The Moors were heedless and intractable, and the unavoidable collision ensued. The Spanish race but followed the path which it had taken since the days of Pelayo, working out its destiny as the bulwark of Christian Europe against the invasion of the Oriental and the Mussulman.

Had activities been limited to restraining the power of the Moors, the country might have had time to adjust itself and arrest the gradual decline of its power. The successor of Philip II, however, found himself involved in the conflicts in which Spain had intervened to maintain her position as the champion of Catholicism and in which both her army and navy had more than once played a losing part. A peace with England, following on the failure of the expedition to Kinsale to support the Irish Catholics in their struggle against Elizabeth, was signed in 1693. The war in the Netherlands dragged on, the Dutch wax-

ing stronger and more prosperous at the expense of Spain and of her Flemish provinces.

One event only stands out against the dark background of military failure, the taking of Ostend by Spinola in 1604. This brilliant feat, however, which deprived the Dutch of a commanding position in Flanders, was turned to little account. It had been preceded by the humiliating defeat of the famous tercios at the Battle of the Dunes, and it was followed by the loss of several fortresses. In 1609 Spain was obliged to come to terms with the Dutch and to sign a truce of twelve years.

In 1618 Spain rallied to the help of the Hapsburg Emperor in the terrible war between Catholics and Protestants in central Europe, later known as the Thirty Years' War. The Spanish troops under Spinola overran the Palatinate and added by their valour and daring fresh laurels to the military traditions of Spain. But this intervention involved her in a struggle in which the last vestige of her ascendancy was to be finally swept away by the growing power of France.

The total results of foreign enterprise throughout the reign and the action of Philip III abroad have been summed up by Don Antonio de Mendoza, a man of lineage and letters and a contemporary witness of the happenings which he records: "(The King) took fortresses in Flanders and some in Italy, two in Africa; he expelled the Dutch from the Indies; he burned the ships of the Tunisian pirates; he defended the Empire in Germany; he extended his own in Asia and enlarged it in America, all fine and enlightened achievements; but if events were weighed, what of all this would remain? The difficulties in Flanders at the outset; the Battle of the Dunes when the rebels proved they were able to meet our valour by their

strength, for till that day they had fought with the Spaniards but had not equalled them, they could resist them from behind their wall but not on the field; the victory of Ostend was glorious, but what bloodshed and how costly and how soon overshadowed by the loss of Eclusa! And Dutch arms! What part of the monarchy did they not disturb, establishing their name in the South and their trade in the East, destroying one fleet and annihilating yet another in the Bay of Gibraltar under General Juan Álvarez."⁸⁵

PHILIP IV

The sixteen-year-old Prince who succeeded his father on the throne as Philip IV had had little preparation for the immense task he was called upon to perform. Since the celebration of his birth in Valladolid, when he was the unconscious centre of the magnificent christening ceremonies, the masques, the procession, the jousts, which hailed his advent into the world, he had lived in almost monastic seclusion. The dull monotony of his days was unbroken save for occasional visits to the convent of discalced Carmelites hard by the Palace, rides on horseback, amateur theatricals in which he himself took a part, and his journey to Burgos at the age of ten to meet his bride, Isabel de Bourbon, the smiling, vivacious daughter of Henri IV. He had little aptitude for government. Gay, gracious and kind-hearted, he took pleasure in every sort of sport and entertainment. He was a fearless rider, he delighted in the bull-fight, and he had a veritable passion for the theatre. He was high-minded and compassionate, anxious that justice should be done and desirous of doing his duty. But his paralysing indolence, his weak, pleasure-

⁸⁵*Discursos de Antonio de Mendoza*. Publ. by Marquis Alcedo.



Velázquez

PHILIP III



Velázquez

PHILIP IV

loving nature, his innate lack of decision and self-confidence, resulted in his abandoning the government to others so that he might plunge unimpeded into a round of amusements and diversions. The whole conduct of the affairs of State was left in the hands of Don Gaspar de Guzmán, Count of Olivares and Duke of San Lucar, frequently called the Conde-Duque. A man of dominating will, immense courage and tireless energy, Olivares threw himself into the cares of State, stimulated by his devouring ambition and his determination to retrieve the fortunes of Spain and to re-establish her prestige in Europe. He was an indefatigable worker of untiring energy. It was he who roused the young King in the morning, discussed with him affairs of State, dealt with foreign envoys, received audiences, and his hand at night drew the King's curtains on retiring. Impatient of opposition and condemning the opinions of others, his ingenious plan for dealing with the Councils of State so as to secure their subservience is described by Don Antonio de Mendoza, one of the King's secretaries. Each councillor was requested to write his opinion on any question awaiting decision and to sign and seal it. These missives were then presented to the King for his consideration. Invariably they were passed on to Olivares unread, who decided in the manner he thought fit and announced his decision to the Council as in accord with the opinions of the majority.

His ability in the conduct of affairs is abundantly shown in the vast number of state papers drawn up by him. He recognised clearly the inherent weakness of the Spanish monarchy; he saw that, "though there was one sovereign there was not one Spain; that there was a common monarchy but no common race." In a very able manifesto drawn up in 1626, he exhorts Philip "to study

and to think with the help of mature and secret advice, of how to bring the kingdoms of which Spain is formed into conformity with the laws and customs of Castile, for, if Your Majesty succeeds, he will be the most powerful Prince in the world.”³⁶ And Olivares goes on, “Of what use are these kingdoms to Your Majesty if when Your Majesty is attacked by enemies and even your capital invaded they are not obliged to protect you, while if Frenchman, Moor, or other enemy invade them, Your Majesty is bound to come to their aid with men and arms?”

But the very clearness with which he perceived the utter incongruity of this position and the danger of such a state of affairs prompted his arrogant disregard for local customs and privileges and only hastened the movement of disintegration which had set in. Likewise, though his attempt to cut down expenses and to limit waste were steps in the right direction, the economic condition of the country was to a great extent the outcome of an erroneous fiscal policy and could not be remedied by the reforms proposed by Olivares. Nevertheless, in spite of the widespread hatred which he evoked during the twenty-two years of his rule, his own words spoken of himself at the beginning of the reign are probably true. “His Highness overrates me in all things but my goodwill.”

There is extant a document written in Philip's own hand in which he sets forth the state of Spain at his accession: “finance exhausted, all the resources of the country pledged in advance for many years to come, only seven ships of war, the Indies almost lost, Germany menacing, the truce with Flanders expiring.” The list of calamities is a long one. Yet far from abandoning the

³⁶*Memoria*. Cited by Canovas de Castilla, *Estudios del Reinado de Felipe IV*.

untenable position of champion of the counter-reformation adopted by Philip II when Spain was at the very zenith of her power, Philip IV declared his intention of showing the zeal befitting his Most Catholic Majesty by promoting the cause of Catholicism in Europe at the point of the sword. Negotiations with England had been dragging on for years over the question of a marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, and the Infanta Maria, Philip IV's sister. Numberless envoys had been dispatched on both sides without any agreement having been reached, for Spain hedged and temporised ceaselessly, her aim being to divert England from an alliance with France by means of endless conferences which she was determined should never lead to anything. These negotiations had been carried on some twelve years, when one night in the month of March, 1623, two travel-stained horsemen made their way to the "house of the seven chimneys," the residence of the English Ambassador in Madrid. To his stupefaction and horror, Lord Bristol discovered that his chance visitors, who announced themselves as Tom and John Smith, were no other than the Prince of Wales himself and the Duke of Buckingham. When the arrival of these great personages was announced at court, the King and Olivares prepared to welcome the visitors with due ceremony. Feastings and entertainments were organised, and a frantic display of grandeur absorbed the time and attention of the guests and served to cloak the duplicity of Olivares. In this way the time passed without the widening rift becoming too obvious. But when Charles had departed amid showers of compliments and gifts, the project was allowed to drop. Not only was it impossible for the two governments to agree to terms, but popular feeling ran high

in opposition to the match. Heretics were regarded with horror in Spain, and the thought of a Spanish Princess becoming Queen of Protestant England was odious to every Spaniard.

The following year, 1624, saw Spain plunged in a vast European struggle which was to last nigh on forty years. In Italy, in Germany, in Holland and on her own frontiers the troops fought to uphold the supremacy of Catholicism and the Hapsburg dynasty. As the conflict developed, it was France and not England that took the lead in opposing Spanish supremacy in Europe. Gradually the power of France was built up by Richelieu, and later by Mazarin, and in the last years of the struggle France and Spain openly confronted each other, two combatants in a desperate wrestle for mastery.

At the outset, success and defeat alternated. In response to Philip's curt order borne with all speed across Europe, "Marquis de Spinola, take Breda," the town was besieged. After a resistance of ten months and a struggle which involved great loss of life, Breda surrendered, an event which formed the subject of one of the greatest pictures of the world.

On the death of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, the Low Countries reverted to the Spanish Crown, and the King's brother, the Infante Ferdinand, was sent to command in Flanders. Although a Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo, Ferdinand was the sole descendant of the Emperor Charles V who possessed that monarch's martial tastes and military genius. Leading the troops from Italy across Europe, he met the army of the all-conquering Swede, Gustavus Adolphus, at Nordlingen, and inflicted on it a severe defeat. At this juncture, Richelieu, dismayed at the unexpected victory of the Spaniards over

a general who was thought to be invincible, determined to fling the forces of France against the Hapsburgs, and declared war. Infante Ferdinand, advancing south from Flanders, captured numerous places in Picardy and finally took the fortress of Corbie, directly threatening Paris. But lack of reinforcements checked his advance, and meanwhile the French overran Franche Comté.

It was at this juncture that Olivares, in the hope of diverting French troops from the north, sent armies to invade France across the Pyrenees. In the west the Spaniards triumphantly drove out the French army which had settled in Fuenterrabia and destroyed their fleet. But the campaigns in Roussillon and in Navarre met with little success and gave rise to a succession of tragic events. The presence of troops from Castile within the borders of Catalonia bred trouble and discontent; the high-handed methods of Olivares, his disregard for cherished local privileges, the disorderly conduct of the soldiery, fanned the deep distrust for the government of Castile into a flame of rabid antagonism, and in 1640, that year of misfortunes, a rebellion blazed up. At the outset, the grievances of the Catalonians were directed against Olivares, but when Philip sent an army to reduce them to obedience, they placed themselves under the protection of the King of France and repulsed the Castilian troops in open battle.

This disaster was followed by the outbreak of rebellion in Portugal where John of Braganza, grandson of that Infanta Catalina who had diffidently disputed the claims of Philip II, was acclaimed King. The calamity cannot be ascribed to any one cause. The mutual dislike of the two races had increased since they had been brought into closer touch, and no measures had been

taken to allay it or to prevent its bursting forth at any moment in the form of an armed rising.

To add to the troubles of Spain at this crucial moment the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand died, and the army was thus deprived of one of its ablest and most popular generals.

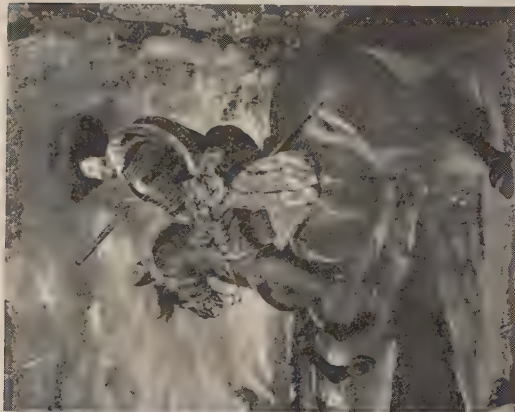
All hopes were now fastened on the famous tercios. After several minor victories, they came face to face with the great Condé at Rocroy in 1643. Their brave struggle against defeat adds another page to the glowing annals of their fame, but when the fight was over the military power of Spain lay shattered on the field. A generous tribute to their unflinching courage is paid them by the historian of Condé: "One cannot praise sufficiently the courage of the Spanish infantry in the midst of the dangers which surrounded them. It is almost inconceivable that men on foot, unprotected by cavalry, should have been able to resist on level ground, not only one, but three consecutive attacks without flinching. The greater number of them were found in their ranks and in the very position which had been allotted to them in the battle. One of them who was taken prisoner called attention to this when in reply to the enquiry as to the number of his comrades he said, 'Count the dead.'"⁸⁷

Meanwhile the Conde-Duque, to whom all the ills of the kingdom were ascribed, had fallen from power. The popular hatred for Olivares was only equalled by the animosity and jealousy of the nobility and the dislike of the Queen herself, who, resentful of his interference even in the details of the domestic life of the court, was tireless in working to bring about his downfall. Yielding at length to the overwhelming pressure brought to bear on

⁸⁷ Cited by Canovas de Castilla, *Estudios del Reinado de Felipe IV.*



CORTÉS



CONDE DUQUE DE OLIVARES



Titian

DUKE OF ALBA

him, Philip accepted the resignation of Olivares and allowed him to retire from public life. In letters to the Councils the King defended his great minister and as far as was in his power protected him from persecution. Yet in spite of the attitude maintained by the King the hatred and malice of his enemies pursued him even into his retirement, and little more than two years after his disgrace he died a raving lunatic.

Philip now determined to keep the reins of government in his own hands, and his new-born activity showed itself in his taking command of the army in Aragon. So stimulating to the morale of the soldiers was the presence of their sovereign that the great fortress of Lérida was captured. Gradually the province was won back, and the French army of occupation, which by constant disorders had earned for itself the hatred of the people, was forced to retire.

But the King soon relapsed into the old habits of sloth and indolence, and the work of the government was carried on to a great extent by Luis de Haro, the nephew of Olivares. Philip himself turned for help and guidance to Sor Maria, the saintly abbess of a convent at Agreda, where he had chanced to stay while on a campaign in Aragon. In the letters which he henceforth addressed constantly to the nun the sufferings and remorse, the doubts and forebodings, the intense loneliness of gilded monarchy are vividly reflected. Throughout twenty years Sor Maria's counsel and advice were sought by the monarch in every difficulty, on questions of social and political import as well as those regarding his private life and the welfare of his soul. She sympathises with him on the death of the Queen Isabel de Bourbon, on the death of his heir, the gallant Don Balthasar Carlos, at the age

of sixteen, she applauds his petition to the Pope for the definition of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The course of every campaign is related to her, and she exhorts Philip to reinforce the garrisons, to bring the long wars to an end and to turn his attention to internal reforms.

Peace with Holland was concluded in 1647, but fighting still continued in Roussillon and Catalonia, in Portugal, Lombardy, Sicily and Naples. Don Juan of Austria, the natural son of Philip IV, was sent to command the troops in Italy and to quell the risings in the south.

The war of the Fronde rent France in two, and the defection of Condé to Spain once more revived the hope of dealing a crushing blow which would reinstate Spain in a position of power in Europe. Don Juan, who had given abundant proof of his courage and good generalship in Italy, joined Condé in Flanders and won a brilliant victory at Valenciennes. But the freshly plucked laurels were destined to fade all too soon. Mazarin concluded a treaty of alliance with Cromwell and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Spanish arms at the battle of the Dunes. Negotiations were now begun which led to the signing of the famous treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659.

The conferences were to take place on a little island in the river Bidassoa, neutral land between the two countries. Thither repaired Don Luis de Haro and his suite on gaily caparisoned horses, their white panaches fluttering in the breeze, carrying with him the gifts which Philip sent to Cardinal Mazarin, a splendid coach drawn by eight horses, a precious ruby, gold chains and other jewels. The two plenipotentiaries met on the Isle of Pheasants, the Cardinal arrayed in all the splendour of his robes. The buildings which had been especially con-

structed for the conferences were arranged to satisfy the punctilious etiquette which characterised the dealings of one country with the other. A door at either end was set apart for the exclusive use of each envoy. The great conference hall was divided in two by carpets, and on the dividing line were placed the two tables so that the envoys might discuss affairs of State in whispered tones without trespassing on each other's territory. The account of the negotiations by a member of the Spanish suite indicates a certain relaxation of this rigidity in the intercourse between the courtiers, for he speaks of the French quarters where he was offered "French drinks, sweets, which were not good, melons and peaches. In our quarters there was always a quantity of sweets, pink sugar, lemonade, cherries, and iced chocolate."

The terms of the treaty were not as crushing to Spain as had been feared. Although France retained Roussillon and many of the Flemish fortresses, she relinquished her hold on the Rhine, abandoned the rebels in Portugal, and even consented to reinstate the traitor Condé in his honours and possessions. The most important outcome of this treaty was the marriage of the Infanta Maria to Louis XIV, which took place in the following year. As Philip IV and Anna of Austria, Queen Regent of France, travelled from their respective capitals to meet at the Bidassoa, marks of popular rejoicing and approbation of the peace greeted them in every town through which they passed. Dancing and illuminations were organised in their honour, and the fountains ran wine.

The house on the Isle of Pheasants, the scene of an event which was destined to be of world-wide importance, was splendidly adorned with tapestries and hangings. Here, after years of warfare and bloodshed between

their two countries, brother and sister met for the first time since Anna had left Spain as a bride. Philip and the young King Louis swore to keep the treaty and embraced each other in sign of undying friendship. The Infanta was allowed but a fleeting glance at the bridegroom before she was called forward to renounce all claim to the throne of Spain on behalf of herself and of her children. Philip agreed to give her a dowry of five hundred thousand escudos.

The significance of the scene that was there enacted, this meeting face to face of age-long rivals, this union of the dying power of Spain with the dawning greatness of France, invested the atmosphere with an emotional intensity which did not fail to affect those present. Philip alone preserved an outward appearance of composure and detachment, but the depth of his feelings was revealed in a letter to the nun of Agreda, "I suffered deeply in my heart and it was in truth a great sacrifice which I offered to God to obtain the blessing of peace."³⁸

Having thus concluded the long European wars, Philip turned to subdue Portugal. John of Braganza was dead, and a weakling ruled in his stead, but the marriage of Charles II of England assured Portugal of a powerful ally. Philip, however, judged wisely when he decided to direct the whole energy of his kingdom to bind Portugal once more to the Spanish crown. A rich, fertile strip of country with good harbours, including that of Lisbon, would assure to Spain a coast of vital importance for her trade with the Indies. The pity was that the effort had not been made before his kingdom was utterly exhausted.

With the greatest difficulty an army was assembled under the leadership of Don Juan which met the enemy at

³⁸ Silvela, *Sor Maria de Agreda y Felipe IV.*

Estremoz. The defeat inflicted upon it by the Portuguese was a bitter blow to the old King. In the words of a chronicler of the time, "the flower of Spain lay ruined, the best from Flanders, the finest from Milan, the choicest from Naples, the most illustrious from Extremadura; lost also were the eight millions which had been spent on the expedition together with thousands of casualties and prisoners."⁸⁹

With one more spurt of energy, Philip dispatched another expedition in 1665, which also met disaster at the battle of Villaviciosa.

This was the last drop of bitterness in the brimming cup. A few months later Philip died.

While this long series of foreign wars was being carried on to maintain a fictitious supremacy abroad, while the country was groaning under exorbitant taxes such as the *alcabala*, a tax levied on goods every time they changed hands, and the wealth of the nation was drained to meet the enormous sums needed for the campaigns, life in the capital had never been so gay, so brilliant, so extravagant. Contemporary documents are filled with endless descriptions of feastings and processions, bull-fights, cane tourneys, floral games, theatrical representations, equestrian displays, each of which involved an exhibition of magnificence and splendour. Any occasion served as a pretext for an outburst of ceremonies, festivities and dissipations, dazzling in their ostentatious display and demoralising in their false glitter. The canonisation of three Spanish saints at the beginning of the reign, St. Isidore, St. Teresa, and St. Ignatius, was celebrated by a whole series of entertainments. The birth of every royal infant, the visits of important personages, the com-

⁸⁹ Contemporary Document. Cited Canovas de Castilla.

ings and goings of monarchs, the feasts of the Church, were all occasions for costly displays. It was not only in Madrid that these feasting were held. The principal towns of the provinces were repeatedly the scenes of jousts and tourneys in order to celebrate the visits of the sovereign who, from his constant journeyings, came to be called the Planet King.

Splendid entertainments were offered to the Prince of Wales when he came to Madrid in 1623 to seek the hand of the Infanta. The long and detailed accounts of the happenings given in annals and documents testify to the unwonted brilliance of the festivities even for that time of splendour.

A state entry into the capital was accompanied by all the honours and ceremonies usually reserved for the sovereign. On the day appointed for the reception, Charles repaired in the early morning to the monastery of San Geronimo, where rooms had been prepared for him with tapestries and furniture from the Palace. Here he was entertained at a magnificent banquet at which many English dishes were served. Thither came the members of the Councils to greet him, followed by the city officials, the princes and nobles. "The King drove in his coach, and when he arrived at San Geronimo the Prince came down to the patio to receive him. Amid strange and impressive courtesies they both mounted their horses, the King insisting that the Prince should mount first and that he should ride on the right. They rode out surrounded by all that was finest in Castile. The costumes and liveries were sumptuous, and splendid was the decoration of the streets where at intervals a stage had been erected and dances and comedies were performed."⁴⁰ Amid this glit-

⁴⁰Pinelo, *Anales de Madrid*, Bib. Nac. Madrid.

tering throng the King and Prince advanced under a canopy of white and gold damask borne by officers of the city corporation in their orange satin and silver spangles. They must have looked a gallant pair, for, we are told, "the Prince was in the flower of his youth, gentle, agreeable and courteous, while the King, our master, was eighteen, so that these two great princes rivalled each other in elegance and general esteem, Spanish courtesy only equalling English affability."

The feastings were temporarily suspended during Lent, but after Easter there was a veritable outburst of them. The bull-fight in the Plaza de Toros is recorded both in pictures and in written descriptions. "A new balcony was put up beside the one in which the King usually watched these spectacles, and was decorated in gold. The King with the Prince and the Infantes sat in the new balcony, while in the other, separated by a partition, were the Queen and the Infanta."⁴¹ Other balconies were reserved for grandees and court officials and for the most important ambassadors, those of France, Venice and Poland, "stars of the first magnitude," while other foreign representatives and nobles occupied places further off. The Queen and the Infanta were "dressed in grey gowns ornamented with raised embroidery and golden spangles and wore jewels and feathers in their hair."⁴² The bulls were played by valiant members of the nobility mounted and armed with spears. The extravagance of the festival was patent in the number of bulls that were killed, "this feast being the first in which the dead bulls were removed by mules, an invention of the Corregidor, Don Juan de Castro."⁴³ It was now and during the succeeding decades

⁴¹*Ibid.*⁴²Ms. Bib. Nac. Madrid.⁴³*Ibid.*

that the bull-fight as we know it today, with its rules and ritual, took definite form.

A culminating point seems to have been reached at the magnificent cane tourney which took place a few months later. "In order to celebrate the approaching wedding the King gave orders that a feast should be held on Monday, August 21st, in which he himself would take part. For the cane tourney ten squadrons of eight horsemen were assembled, the King himself heading the tenth. The bodyguard entered with the horsemen; pages, bareheaded, led the King's horse, four grooms with their wallets of crimson velvet, four blacksmiths, ten horses with splendid trappings, another twelve in reserve with blue velvet cloths with the crown embroidered on them and the name Phelipe, two hundred servants in satin liveries of the colour of mother of pearl with silver or black facings. . . . The Queen went in her chair to the Panaderia while the Infanta drove in a coach with her brother, the Cardinal Infante. She was allowed to wear the Prince's colours and was dressed in white. . . . By special order the partition which divided the two balconies in other festivities was removed so that the Prince could be beside the Infanta with only the iron screen between. . . . The King directing on one side and the Duke de Zea on the other and having taken their places they played the canes in excellent order and with grace and skill, everyone marvelling at His Majesty, may God preserve him, who in matters of horsemanship . . . is unrivalled in the whole world."⁴⁴ Equestrian displays of various kinds were frequent at this time, for, as testified in the above account, Philip was a keen and expert rider, and Olivares was one of the most accomplished horse-

⁴⁴Luis Pinelo, *Anales de Madrid*.

men in Europe. A picture by Velazquez which hangs in the National Gallery in London shows Philip surrounded by his courtiers on prancing horses playing a boar at his country place of El Pardo. The horses are caracoling in the green glades, affording an opportunity for the horsemen to parade their dexterity and ingenuity. The display of good horsemanship was the object of these pastimes, which involved little fatigue and no danger.

There were yet other occasions for the celebration of public ceremonies which aroused intense excitement and religious emotion in the Spain of that day. These were the *autos-da-fé* which were held at rare intervals in the Plaza Mayor. Stands were especially erected for the ceremony by the township, and richly decorated. The King and Queen occupied a special balcony richly adorned, while the space beneath was filled with a vast crowd of eager spectators. A procession usually took place on the eve of the great day. Faggot bearers led off with their pikes and muskets; then came the Dominicans in their black and white habits; the standard of red damask with the arms of Spain on one side and a bare sword in a laurel crown on the other, borne by one of the greatest nobles in the land; the immense green Cross which was to hold the place of honour, surrounded by the officers of the Inquisition in their long black hooded cloaks with white crosses; and finally the Inquisitor General himself.

A contemporary account of the great auto held in 1623 runs as follows: "At seven o'clock in the morning the King and Queen left the Palace accompanied by their household and took their places in the balconies reserved for them. Hardly were they seated and the members of the Council ready, when the procession of the condemned

entered the Plaza. When they had reached their places the Inquisition with its entire retinue arrived on the scene. First came the aguaciles of the court and the officers of the Royal Council, seventy familiars of the tribunal with rods of justice, the consultants and prosecutors, and the municipality of Madrid."⁴⁵ These ranged themselves in their respective places round the royal stand and the platform where the Inquisitor General was seated, while below them stood the prisoners grouped together and wearing sanbenitos. "The King's confessor, Fray Antonio de Sotomayor, preached. When the sermon was finished the oath of justice was administered, and then followed the reading of the sentences of the thirty-three penitenciados and seven relajados. The auto finished at three o'clock in the afternoon and the burning at eleven o'clock that night."⁴⁶ Seven of the accused were burned alive and the rest were condemned to life-long imprisonment. The fact that the secular law prescribed death for heresy must be accepted with the realisation that in the eyes of the people and the governments of those days, heresy was anarchy and high treason, and such it was in the then constitution of society. It must also be borne in mind that the criminal codes of the times were more cruel than those of our day; leniency in criminal codes is of very recent origin.

The love of display and ostentation which so characterises this period is seen also in the jewels and rich stuffs which were habitually worn, in the valuable gifts exchanged between sovereigns, ambassadors and nobles, and in the vast agglomeration of treasures in houses where at times there was not enough to eat. There is

⁴⁵Pinelo, *Anales de Madrid*, Bib. Nac. Madrid.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

extant a list of the gifts exchanged at the departure of the Prince of Wales from Madrid. The items include, besides his presents to the King and Queen and the diamond ornaments and magnificent collar of pearls for the Infanta, "a diamond ring for the Infante Don Carlos, a diamond cross for the Cardinal Infante, a ring for each of the gentlemen in waiting, and a jewel for each of the ladies, a diamond and a pearl for Count Olivares, a diamond cross for the Countess Olivares, two diamond rings for her daughters, and jewels for everyone who had been in his service."⁴⁷ The diamond assigned to Olivares was none other than the famous Portuguese diamond which had been brought to England by the Portuguese pretender whose jewels had gained for him the passing favour of Elizabeth.

The King and Queen were no less lavish. Philip sent a string of Arab and Spanish horses, Spanish asses for his stud, a sword and a dagger richly encrusted with jewels. The chronicler proceeds, "The present of the Queen consisted of underlinen, faedriqueras, gloves and amber perfumed skins, a handsome writing desk filled with scent phials and some 50 lbs. of sweets, a bottle of eau-de-cologne, a dressing-gown in a gilded flat-basket which was made in a day and a half, and a gold basin for washing."⁴⁸

Olivares, not to be outdone in grandeur, presented the young Prince with a number of magnificent paintings for his collection and three sedan chairs in gold and tortoise shell.

The splendour of such gifts was not confined to those exchanged on royal visits. Later on in the reign we read

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

of a string of diamonds of the purest water being presented to the King by a Portuguese envoy, and of a pair of earrings of inestimable value being given to the Queen on the same occasion.

Paintings and *objets d'art* of all kinds were collected with enthusiasm. The houses, many of which, situated in the meanest streets, were falling into disrepair, were filled to overflowing with precious objects of "vertu," vitrines in which sparkled jewelled ornaments and Venetian glass, cabinets with Chinese porcelain, ebony furniture inlaid with mother-of-pearl and ivory, tapestries, fine carpets, and silk hangings. When the Duke of Albuquerque died, it took some six weeks of constant work to make an inventory of his gold and silver plate and to weigh it. Among other items there were fourteen hundred dozen plates, seven hundred dozen small plates, fifty large dishes, and so the list goes on.

Both Philip and Olivares were tireless in their search for works of art, and correspondence regarding the purchase of pictures abroad went on even in the very darkest moments of the reign. In the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères in Paris there is a dispatch sent by the Spanish Ambassador in London to Don Luis de Haro in 1653 while Spain was in the final throes of the long struggle with France. It announces the acquisition of several important paintings from the collection of the late King, Charles I, the same Charles who at the beginning of the reign had so considerably enlarged his collection on the occasion of his visit to Spain. The paintings are described, and among them is noted the famous *Holy Family* by Raphael, now in the Museo del Prado and known

as *La Perla* because Philip IV on seeing it exclaimed, "This is in truth the pearl of my collection."⁴⁹

Not only was Philip a great lover of pictures, he was also an ardent patron of artists and writers, his court was the centre of a galaxy of talent, and his reign is known as the Golden Age. Quevedo was a celebrated figure at court, although the bitter edge of his satiric wit often roused the displeasure of the King and of Olivares. His tortoise-shell goggles became all the rage and were called after him "quevedos." Gongora was another of these favoured writers who left their mark on the age which he reflected in the affected, overloaded style which he adopted. The young Velazquez, fresh from Seville, gained access to the royal presence through the patronage of Olivares. He delighted the monarch by a dashing portrait of him curvetting on his great charger. He was named court painter and provided with lodgings in the Palace.

It was the custom at that time for struggling artists to display their pictures on the steps of the fashionable church of St. Philip, and it was in this way that Murillo attracted the attention of the young King and shortly after sprang into fame.

This was above all an age of drama. Lope de Vega, perhaps the greatest of all Spanish playwrights, produced some of his best work during the first fourteen years of the reign, and the standard was upheld by Calderón de la Barca, Tirso de Molino and others. Philip's passion for the play was so well known that every entertainment given in his honour included among the diversions at least one dramatic performance. He himself

⁴⁹ *Une dépêche diplomatique.* Ed. H. Léonardon.

wrote several comedies which unfortunately have been lost.

There were two theatres in Madrid at this time, large courtyards surrounded by houses with closely grated windows from which the aristocracy viewed the performances. Here Philip and his vivacious French wife, Isabel de Bourbon, frequently repaired to see the play and to watch the popular audience gathered in the open courtyard below.

Plays were also performed in the Palace in the long gallery with its golden gratings specially prepared for that purpose.

Literary jousts and contests also became a favourite form of diversion at court, and these were held with frequency after the new palace of El Buen Retiro had been built. An account of one of these is given in a document of the time which shows the performance to have consisted in a display of prompt ingenuity and readiness of wit rather than in any great originality or depth of thought. Themes were proposed by the president on which the competitors instantly improvised verses. The items for competition on this particular occasion included: an epigram stating whether it is more foolish to be a fool sometimes or to be always discreet; a sonnet demonstrating which is more gallant, a gallantry of manner or a gallant figure; a romance setting forth that one may fall ill of an illness, but that one dies of the doctor. There were two or three prizes offered for each of these tests, and it was enjoined on the competitors that their verse must be lively, witty and free from low jokes.

The palace of El Buen Retiro was built in order to provide a more fitting setting for the entertainments and spectacles of Philip's court than that provided by the

sombre Alcazar on the frowning crags overlooking the Manzanares. The immense grounds were laid out in beautiful masses of verdure and flowers amid which lakes and waterfalls cunningly revealed themselves. An ambassador from Morocco who visited Madrid some years later has left us the following description of the pleasure grounds: "(The Palace) is surrounded by a most beautiful garden watered by streams and rivulets. In the middle of this garden is a wide stretch of water and on its banks are fine summer houses which serve as cool shelters in the heat. There are barges and boats in which the King goes out on the water. In the winter this water is entirely frozen so that one can walk on it."⁵⁰ The Palace was richly decorated and adorned with priceless works of art, many of them "gifts" from those who sought favours from the all-powerful minister.

But the sight of so much money squandered on luxury and frivolity aroused general indignation which expressed itself in bitter quips and gibes, in letters and diaries, in venomous pasquinades. The money for the wars had been obtained by shameless begging. The grandees were called upon to raise whole regiments and to maintain them at their own expense. Cardinal de Borja had presented the King with fifty thousand escudos out of his own pocket, and others had been induced to follow his example.

The silver fleet had been more than once commandeered by the government to meet its immense expenses, and the merchants who depended upon it to carry on their trade grew wholly discouraged and refused to risk their goods under such conditions. Crushing taxes were levied on every province in Spain, and money raised from the struggling people on even the most essential necessities of

⁵⁰ *Voyage en Espagne d'un Ambassadeur marocain*. Ed. H. Sauvaire.

life. The coinage was depreciated, prices rose and the rigid imposition of the alcabala gradually killed trade. Little wheat was raised, and corn had to be imported from Sicily and France. The greater number of the population were absolutely idle, and, leaving the land, congregated in the towns and especially in Madrid. There was little or no industry carried on, the plying of a trade came to be regarded with contempt and each one lived on what he could wheedle out of his neighbour or extract from the government. "The Spaniards are all either government employees or soldiers, and consider it beneath them to follow a trade or to take part in industry or commerce, hoping thus to be counted among the nobility or, in the event of their not reaching that rank themselves, to be able to bequeath it to their descendants."⁵¹

Meals were doled out free at the doors of the convents and monasteries at certain hours every day, and it was not unusual to see young soldiers and gallants mingling shamelessly with the crowd of indigent poor.

"There is yet another cause which contributes to the scarcity of money among the Spaniards, and this is the number of French and Flemings who have come to work for them, either cultivating the land, or building, or lower kinds of work which the Don Diegos and Don Rodrigos either from vanity or from laziness consider so much beneath them that they would rather die of hunger than do it themselves."⁵² Pretension and extravagance had so invaded all classes that even the meanest arrayed themselves in silks and velvets, and, wearing swords and daggers, swaggered and strutted through the streets, depriving themselves and their families of the necessities for the privilege of this enjoyment.

⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵²Comtesse d'Aulnoy, *Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne*.

Highway robbery, murder and disorders of all kinds were rife, and even those entering the very gates of the Palace were liable to assault. On one occasion it is said that there were no fewer than one hundred and fifteen murders in a fortnight. Justice was entirely relaxed, bribes were freely taken, and it frequently sufficed for a man to own a powerful name and to be a good soldier for him to escape punishment, no matter how heinous his crime had been.

Both Philip and Olivares made efforts to remedy the more glaring abuses by repeated sumptuary laws which aimed at restricting the prevailing extravagance. The wearing of rich clothes, and the use of gold lace, velvets, embroidery and jewels were limited. The number of servants was curtailed, for the custom of keeping numerous retainers swelled the ranks of the idle. The Comtesse d'Aulnoy, who visited Madrid about this time, tells us, "When a great nobleman dies, if he has a hundred servants, his son retains them all in his service without dismissing any of those he already has. . . . They are lodged in neighbouring houses . . . and they are paid board. They come from time to time to show themselves, rather to prove that they are not dead than to do any work."⁵³

Reforms were also effected in the Palace household, and Philip drew up a document in his own hand in which several items of retrenchment are decreed. The number of gentlemen-in-waiting, stewards, pages and other officials is reduced. "The perquisite of sixty wax torches for the gentlemen of the bed chamber is abolished. . . . The comptroller of the Household will no longer be entitled to fresh meat, pastry, bacon, chicken, custard,

⁵³ *Ibid.*

salad and jam, and will have to content himself in future, whilst on a journey, with two dishes of roast and one dish of boiled meat, and two dishes for supper.”⁵⁴

An interesting outcome of the severe restrictions placed on the wearing of the fine lace collars and ruffs which were so costly to buy and still more costly to keep starched and ironed was the invention of the golilla, a high wide collar made of the same stuff as the doublet, stretched on cardboard and lined with white or grey silk. So pleasing was this new device to the King that he and his courtiers wore it on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales. It became a distinctive part of the dress of seventeenth-century Spain, and Philip hardly ever wore any other collar, as the portraits of him testify.

The dress worn by the women of the time which the portraits of Velazquez have familiarised to posterity, is thus described by a contemporary, “In town they wear a frame made of thick copper wire which encircles their waists. Other hoops gradually getting larger are suspended by ribbons, so that there are five or six hoops reaching to the ground to hold out the skirts. The overskirt is always of black taffeta, quite plain with a big tuck a little above the knee. . . . Under this plain skirt, they have a dozen more, one more beautiful than the other, made of rich materials adorned with ribbons and gold and silver lace right up to the waist. . . . They do their hair in different ways and are always bare-headed . . . and (their hair) is so glossy that without exaggeration one can almost see oneself in it. . . . There were more than sixty ladies in the gallery and not one of them had a hat. They were all seated on the ground with their legs crossed under them.”⁵⁵

⁵⁴Hume, *The Court of Philip IV.*

⁵⁵Aulnoy, *Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne.*

Not only is the life of the time very fully and vividly portrayed in documents and contemporary accounts, but we also have actual pictorial records in the magnificent series of paintings by Velazquez which give more lasting impressions than any written description. Perhaps the most revealing of all is the great picture painted towards the close of the reign and known as *Las Meninas*. In the centre stands the five-year-old Infanta Margarita Maria, her maid of honour kneeling before her and handing her on a golden salver one of those cups of scented earthenware from which it was then so much the vogue to nibble. Near her are two dwarfs, misshapen persons, hideously ugly and splendidly dressed, who were to be found at that time in every great house and were an indispensable adjunct to the court. The picture evidently represents a moment when the little girl was brought in to divert her parents who were having their portraits painted by Velazquez. The painter himself is seen standing on the left before his canvas. In the background, reflected in a mirror, are Philip and his young wife Mariana, the Austrian Archduchess who had formerly been betrothed to his son Balthasar Carlos. The sadness, the monotony, the restrictions of court life in the last gloomy years of Philip's reign are here caught and recorded for succeeding generations.

The want of money amid splendour of surroundings was making itself keenly felt even in the Palace itself. The following incident is one of many recorded which betrays the poverty and want everywhere. "It appears also that the Queen likes to finish her dinner with a sweetmeat; but as none had been brought to her table for some days, she asked the lady who is in charge of these matters why they were not served as usual. She replied

that the confectioner refused to supply them because he could not get paid, and a large amount was owing to him. The lady then drew a ring from her finger and said to a servant, 'Run out at once and get some sweetmeats anywhere with this jewel.'"⁵⁶

In spite of this, festivities were frequently organised in order to divert the young Queen and to lift the King out of the deep melancholy into which he was gradually sinking. The passion for display survived to the very end of the reign. The baptism of the little Infanta Margarita Maria was solemnised amid great pomp and splendour in the Church of the Discalced Carmelites. The precious tapestries and carpets were brought out for the occasion. "(On a stand) at the Gospel side of the altar were four golden bowls and two urns for water, the gift sent by His Holiness. . . . On the bed was placed a silver box in the shape of a crescent, and on it stood the font in which St. Dominic had been baptised and which had been taken to Valladolid for the baptism of the King, her father."⁵⁷

The birth of Charles, the long-hoped-for heir, in 1661, was the occasion of a veritable outburst of ceremonies and rejoicings, and the festivities connected with his christening were held with the greatest pomp and splendour in spite of the pressing penury which prevailed.

And when at last Philip died in 1665, defeated, disillusioned, his country ruined, his fortunes shattered, poverty and want in almost every home, it was in a silver gilt coffin that he was laid to rest, placed on a silver bedstead adorned with a valance and headcloth of gold, embroidered in flowers of crimson silk.

⁵⁶ Barrionuevo. Cited by Hume, *Court of Philip IV.*

⁵⁷ Ms. Bib. Nac. Madrid.

CHARLES II

A grandee magnificently attired and ablaze with jewels proclaimed the accession of Charles II to the throne and titles of the ruler of Spain: "King of Spain, León, Navarre, Aragon, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Seville, Murcia, Jaen, Jerusalem, Naples, Sicily, Majorca, Minorca, Sardinia, the Eastern and Western Indies, islands and lands of the Oceanic Sea, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, of Brabant, Luxemburg, Guelders, Milan, Count of Hapsburg, Flanders, Tyrol, Barcelona . . . Marquis of the Holy Empire . . . Grand Seigneur of Asia and Africa."⁵⁸ The holder of these dignities was at the time a puny child of four, his kingdom was well-nigh ruined, his empire was crumbling. In view of the King's tender age a regency was set up under Queen Mariana to carry on the government of the country. Mariana, utterly unprepared to control the administration, turned for help and guidance to her German confessor, Father Nithard, a Jesuit, whom she named Councilor of State and Inquisitor General. The favour she thus showed to a foreigner and an ecclesiastic aroused the jealousy of the nobles, and was deeply resented by the country at large. A party gradually formed itself in opposition to the Queen Regent under the leadership of Don Juan of Austria, and for eleven years the Court was the focus of bitter rivalries and intrigues. In 1675 Charles came of age, and Don Juan, owing to the ascendancy he had gained over the young King, took control of the government and forced the Queen Regent to retire to Toledo. In the three years which followed, during which he directed the affairs of State, he showed utter incompetence as a ruler. Those who had rallied to his side to op-

⁵⁸D'Aulnoy, *Cour d'Espagne*.

pose the foreign influence of the Queen Regent and Nithard turned from him in disappointment and disgust; and his arrogant vanity aroused the resentment of the King himself. His death in 1678 put a timely end to his rule. The Nuncio announced the event to the Pope in the following terms: "Don Juan of Austria died on the 17th of this month. Few regret his death, many rejoice, and among these the King. The King immediately set forth to Toledo to see his mother, and today he entered the capital with her and proceeded to the Palace of the Retiro amidst every mark of public rejoicing."⁵⁰

In the meantime France, circumscribed by Spain and her vast possessions, was straining and struggling to break down the barriers which impeded her expansion. Louis XIV, basing his claim on an old law of Brabant which excluded the children of a second marriage from inheritance, and the non-payment of the dowry of Maria Teresa, challenged Charles's right to the throne and invaded Flanders and the Franche Comté. But the other European powers were suspicious and jealous of the growing power of France, and forced Louis to come to terms with Spain in 1668 at Aix-la-Chapelle. Here Louis returned Franche Comté, but kept certain fortresses in Flanders.

In the same year Spain recognised the independence of Portugal and of all the Portuguese conquests in the New World. All that now remained to Spain of Philip II's great triumph was the little town of Ceuta on the coast of Morocco.

War with France soon broke out anew, for the redundant energy of the ambitious young monarch, striving to extend the frontiers of his country, drove the Powers into

⁵⁰Letter. Doc. Alba.



CHARLES II



PHILIP V

opposition. In 1673 France again invaded Franche Comté and the Low Countries, capturing Valenciennes, Cambray and Ghent. Fighting broke out in Sicily, where France had intervened to help the rebellious Sicilians against their Spanish rulers. With the help of her allies, England, Holland and Sweden, Spain resolutely disputed the violation of her territories, and the staunch resistance of the Catalonians and the courage of her maritime peoples protected her own soil from invasion. At the Peace of Nimwegen, however, she was forced to surrender Franche Comté, Artois, and further fortresses in Flanders.

French diplomacy, which throughout the century had played a concurrent part with French arms in striving for ascendancy in the Peninsula, gained a victory in the agreement now reached for the marriage of Charles II to Marie Louise of Orléans, the niece of Louis XIV. The presence of a French Princess at the Spanish court would give, it was hoped, a preponderating influence to France in Spanish affairs, while it provided a centre for intrigue and espionage.

Charles dispatched a magnificent retinue to meet his Queen at the frontier and conduct her to him in Quintanapolla, the little village outside Burgos where the marriage was to take place. He provided for her a beautiful coach lined with "green cloth all embroidered in gold with the Spanish arms and the flor de lis, with crystal panes, two big ones at the head and four small ones at the sides."⁶⁰ The Princess, after several days' delay occasioned by storms, came by sea from San Juan de Luz to Irun, and her arrival is thus described by one of the eye-witnesses: "The sea at full tide was covered with boats, some gold, others red and others of different colours. The

⁶⁰ *L'Arrivé de la Reine Marie Louise d'Orléans*. Ms. Bib. Nac. Madrid. Ed. H. Léonardon.

Queen's boat was adorned with gilded sculptured figures . . . the windows were of plate glass and at the back were the arms of Spain and the Imperial Crown, and all round were paintings of the nymphs with their respective attributes. The boat was towed by shallops manned by Basque sailors in their black velvet jackets and silver buttons."⁶¹

The arrival of the young Queen in Madrid was the signal for general rejoicings. The streets were decorated with triumphal arches bearing allegorical representations. In the street of the tanners there were so many finely stuffed animals that it seemed like a menagerie. All the officials and great personages were in gala attire; the magistrates in red and gold brocade and plumed hats, the Knights of the Military Orders in white cloaks embroidered in gold, the *grandees* and members of the Household in long white boots and hats adorned with diamonds and precious stones. In the courtyard of the Palace were groups of young maidens wearing crowns of reeds and water-lilies. In the midst of the glittering throng glowed the dark beauty of the seventeen-year-old Queen as she rode on her graceful Andalusian horse wearing round her neck the famous *Peregrina*, the lovely pear-shaped pearl which is still the most prized of the crown jewels of Spain.

Marie Louise won the hearts of the people by the graciousness and vivacity of her bearing, but she was too young, too heedless and wanting in discernment to understand the part she was expected to play for France. The monotony of her life in the Palace, where she was closely watched and guarded, rendered it impossible for her to be of any political significance.

⁶¹*Ibid.*

War with France broke out again in 1686, when Spain joined Sweden and Austria in the League of Augsburg to check the growing power of France. In the course of the hostilities Marie Louise died. It was essential that Charles should have an heir, and in accordance with the wishes of his ally, the Emperor, he married Marie Anne of Neuburg. Her arrival, together with the appointment of Harrach, an able diplomat and statesman, as Imperial Ambassador, resulted in a revival of Austrian ascendancy in Madrid, an ascendancy which was warmly supported by the Queen.

But as the hope of an heir died, France revived her diplomatic activities with renewed intensity to secure at least a portion of the territories of the Spanish monarchy. Peace was signed at Ryswick in 1697, in which generous terms were accorded to Spain, for Louis had no desire to despoil a monarchy which he intended should fall to the lot of a Bourbon.

A vast network of intrigue threw its meshes over the country. Spies were sent out in every direction, plots and counter plots, quarrels, accusations and rivalries reduced the public life of the country to a greedy struggle between the partisans of Austria and France over the spoils of the dying monarch. Louis XIV put forward the claim of his grandson, Philip of Anjou; the Emperor advanced that of his son, the Archduke Charles.

The French had a strong following in the country at large, where the people were predisposed in their favour by the remembrance of the grace and charm of Isabel de Bourbon, the first wife of Philip IV, and of Marie Louise of Orléans; also by the general dislike of Mariana, Philip's second wife, and the unpopularity of Marie Anne of Neuburg. Spain, moreover, was weary of the Haps-

burgs, on whose behalf the long wars had been waged, and they were ready to exchange the restless, adventurous eagles of Austria for the settled security of the fleur-de-lys.

Charles II, outraged at the Partition Treaty made by the Powers at the Hague in 1698, refused to recognise either claimant, and drew up a will declaring his grand-nephew, Joseph of Bavaria, heir to all his possessions. The child died in the following year, and the intrigues continued with renewed vigour. At last Charles on his deathbed declared the Duke of Anjou his heir, exclaiming as he died, "God alone can grant a kingdom."

CHAPTER VIII

The House of Bourbon

IN accordance with the terms of the will of Charles II a Bourbon succeeded a Hapsburg in 1701 on the throne of Spain. Louis XIV with the greatest solemnity presented his grandson to his brilliant court as Philip V, and, turning to the latter, he conjured him in the following terms: "Be a good Spaniard, that is your first duty; but remember that you were born a Frenchman, and strive for the union of the two nations. Thus will you make them happy and preserve the peace of Europe."

But the close union of the two countries, far from resulting in a European peace, drew Spain into a succession of wars differing only from those of preceding centuries in that they were waged in support of Bourbon instead of Hapsburg, and in defence not of an empire of Christendom, but of a vast commercial empire beyond the seas.

Philip V entered Madrid to take possession of his throne in 1701. On the whole the Spanish nobility were in his favour, partly on account of their dislike of the division of the Empire contemplated in the Partition Treaties, and partly because of the friendly feeling toward France fostered by French agents. In Catalonia alone was any opposition to be feared. Here the dislike of France, engendered by the behaviour of French troops in 1640 and renewed on several subsequent occasions, naturally predisposed the people against the Bourbons. In Europe at large the acceptance of Charles II's will by Louis XIV was received favourably. As long as the proviso that the

French and Spanish crowns should not be united in one person was respected, the accession of a Bourbon seemed less menacing than that of a Hapsburg. Had not Louis XIV driven the other Powers of Europe to the side of Austria by refusing to recognise this proviso, by making depredations on Dutch territory, and by recognising the Old Pretender as King of England, it is probable that there would have been no war. As a result of the aggressive attitude of the French monarch, Austria succeeded in forming an offensive and defensive alliance with England and Holland to support the claim of the Austrian candidate, the Archduke Charles, and war was declared in 1702.

The fighting began in the north of Italy where the Austrians occupied the duchy of Mantua. Meanwhile Marlborough flung his motley army of English, Dutch and German troops across Europe, expelling the French, who had overrun the central states, and establishing, by a succession of brilliant victories, a line of communication with Vienna itself.

The main significance of the war in the Peninsula lies in the fact that it was a struggle between the central power, represented by Philip V, and the principles of local autonomy, maintained by Catalonia and Aragon, who sought the help of England and Austria.

In 1704 Portugal accorded her support to the Archduke Charles. In the same year an English fleet under Admiral Rooke appeared off Barcelona, offering assistance to the people if they would declare themselves for Charles. The rising, however, was not yet prepared, and Rooke sailing away to the south stormed and took Gibraltar. In 1705 rebellion broke out at Vich in Catalonia. With the aid of the English fleet Barcelona was besieged

by land and sea and forced to surrender, whereupon Charles was proclaimed King and all Catalonia seceded from the Bourbon cause. Things were going badly for Philip, and total disaster would have followed had not combined French and Spanish troops, under the leadership of the Duke of Berwick, James II's natural son, inflicted a crushing defeat on the allies at Almansa in 1707.

Several years of fighting ensued with varying fortune for both sides. Charles, after the victories at Almenara and Saragossa, entered Madrid in 1710, but the coldness and tacit hostility of the people forced him to withdraw after a very short residence there. Meanwhile Philip had been reinforced, and by a glorious victory at Brihuega won back the laurels he had lost in the two preceding defeats, and Aragon and Catalonia were little by little re-occupied by him. The victory of Brihuega was won on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, and Our Lady under that title was triumphantly proclaimed patroness of Spain.

In 1711 came the turning point of the war. The Emperor Joseph died, and the Archduke Charles succeeded him on the imperial throne. This not only forced him to leave Spain and return to Austria, but, what was far more important, reversed the balance of power in Europe. There was little to choose between the union of the Spanish and Austrian crowns and that of the Spanish and French crowns, and that little was not worth the expenditure of large sums of money in men and armaments. The contending parties were now tired of the war, and negotiations for peace were opened between France, England and Holland. In 1713 the Peace of Utrecht was signed, by which Philip kept Spain and the New World, but was excluded from the succession to the French throne, and

England was given Gibraltar, Minorca and the monopoly of the slave trade with Spanish America.

Meanwhile the people of Catalonia, who had fought bravely for the allies throughout the war, and were shamefully deserted by them at Utrecht, rose again against Philip to defend their *fueros*, which he refused to recognise. Austria, still at war, promised her aid, and encouraged by the hope of her support, Barcelona, besieged by Philip, held out from May to September, 1714. But the imperial troops failed to appear, and finally Charles, abandoning also the Catalan cause, signed the Treaty of Rastatt with Philip, from whom he received Flanders, Luxemburg, Sardinia and the Spanish possessions in Italy. The direct outcome of this treaty was to leave the rebellious provinces entirely at the mercy of Philip. The *fueros* and privileges of Aragon had been abolished in 1707 after the victory at Almansa. In 1716 a document called the *Planta Nueva* was drawn up, abrogating all autonomous rights in Catalonia, prohibiting the use of the Catalan language and appointing a Captain-General to rule the region. The barriers of local laws which restricted and at times crippled the workings of the central government were thus to a great extent removed.

The death of the Queen, Marie Louise of Savoy, in 1714, was a turning point in Philip's reign. Philip when he came to the throne was only seventeen. He was lively and energetic in temperament, lacking neither in courage nor in singleness of purpose, but his fatal weakness of will left him at the mercy of any strong character with whom he might be brought in contact. The Queen Marie Louise, a child of thirteen with the sense of a woman of thirty, came to Spain determined to help her husband in the government of the country. She realised Philip's failing, and



THE BREAKDOWN of the EMPIRE

Lost by:

The Treaty of the PYRENEES	1659
" " " NYMWEGEN	1678
" " " UTRECHT	1713
" " " RASTATT	1714

in a letter to Louis XIV besought him to teach his grandson "to say 'I will' or 'I will not' with determination, so as to resemble Your Majesty." She constantly attended the meetings of the Council, needle in hand, denying herself all amusement and diversions, the better to prove her interest and concern in the affairs of Spain.

The Queen in turn was under the ascendancy of the Mistress of the Robes, the Princess Orsini, who had been chosen to fill that post by her protector, Louis XIV. Through her influence, Louis directed the doings of the court at Madrid during the first years of the reign. The Princess, the widow of an Italian nobleman, was a Frenchwoman and had long been a political agent in the pay of Louis XIV. The marriage of Philip to Marie Louise of Savoy may be traced to her influence. She was also the author of a series of letters to Madame de Maintenon and the Maréchale de Noailles, the literary value of which has placed her among the great letter-writers. She manifests in her correspondence a deep loyalty and concern towards the sovereigns whom she served, declaring that she would lose her life before she gave the King any advice "which would not redound to his honour." At the death of Marie Louise the Princess became Court Governess to her children.

When negotiations were set on foot for Philip's second marriage, the Princess used her influence to incline the King to Isabel de Farnese, who had been proposed by the Cardinal Alberoni, agent in Madrid to the Duke of Parma. The Cardinal had reported Isabel to be docile and discreet, and it was therefore with entire confidence of retaining her position at court that the Princess set forth to greet the new Queen on her arrival in Spain. A bitter disappointment awaited her. She was met with

extreme coldness and hostility, and Isabel ordered that she should be expelled from Spain forthwith. The new Queen was ambitious and endowed with an indomitable will, and carried all before her. The ministers were henceforth chosen at her suggestion and the policy of the country directed to satisfy her aspirations.

The conduct of affairs was now entrusted to Cardinal Alberoni, the declared enemy of Austria, whose principal aim was the reversal of the agreements made at Utrecht and Rastatt and the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy. The military tastes of the King, together with the desire of the Queen to secure an inheritance for her infant son, provided him with the necessary support for the attempt to realise his ambitions.

After some years devoted to the reorganisation and re-equipment of the Navy, a fleet set out from Barcelona in 1717, and captured Sardinia. From there it sailed on to Sicily and effected landings at Palermo and other towns. This aggression brought about the formation of the Quadruple Alliance between England, Holland, Austria and France. Spain offered to withdraw on condition that the Emperor should cede his newly acquired possessions in Parma and Tuscany to the Infante Charles, the son of Philip V and Isabel Farnese. These terms were refused, and war broke out. The Austrians drove the Spaniards from Sicily, the English destroyed their fleet off Cape Passaro, and the French invaded Catalonia and the Basque Provinces. Defeated on all sides, Spain sued for peace. Negotiations were opened at the Hague and peace signed in 1720, which provided for the banishment of Alberoni, while Spain adhered to the Quadruple Alliance. The treaty was to be guaranteed by the marriage of Philip's eldest son, Luis, to Mademoiselle de Montpen-

sier, and the little Infanta Maria Ana was affianced to Louis XV.

The defeats and disappointments of the war completely disillusioned Philip, whose hopes had been raised to impossible heights by Cardinal Alberoni. He thereupon made a vow to abdicate the throne, and prepared for his retreat a stately palace surrounded by beautiful gardens at La Granja among the mountains of the Guadarrama. He carried this vow into effect in January, 1724, sending a message to the Council in which he stated that henceforth he intended to dedicate himself "to the service of God and the great work of salvation."

It was only for a very short interval, however, that Philip was to enjoy uninterrupted repose among the wooded avenues, the fountains and cascades which French inventiveness and ingenuity had created for him on the mountain side. His son Luis, who had succeeded him, lived only a few months after his accession, and in August, 1724, Philip returned to occupy once more the throne of Spain.

His first act was to summon a meeting of the Cortes, at which Philip's second son, Ferdinand, was formally recognised as heir to the throne. This was the first time representatives of the various regions of Spain assisted at a meeting of the Cortes in Madrid.

During the second part of his reign, Philip, prompted by the ambitions of his wife, directed his foreign policy towards securing a kingdom for his younger son Charles, who seemed to be excluded from occupying the Spanish throne by the presence of his half-brother Ferdinand.

It seemed possible to carve out a realm for him from the lost Italian possessions, and in the hope of doing this by peaceful methods, negotiations were opened with

Austria for the conclusion of an alliance between the two countries for mutual defence against France. The rupture of the Franco-Spanish marriage contract and the return of the Infanta Maria Ana to her own country gave the required occasion for the move. A treaty was signed between Spain and Austria which provided for the marriage of the two sons of Isabel Farnese to Austrian Arch-duchesses.

The balance of power in Europe was thus once more threatened, and soon Spain found herself confronted by the allied forces of France, England, Prussia and Holland. Deserted by Austria, she was forced to come to terms and to return to the *status quo* as laid down in the treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt.

In 1729 the two countries signed the Treaty of Seville in which France agreed to uphold Charles's rights to Parma, Piacenza and Tuscany, and in 1731 Charles actually took possession of these estates.

In 1733 the famous treaty known as the Family Compact cemented the Franco-Spanish Alliance, and Austria being occupied with a war with Poland, Spanish and Papal troops invaded Naples and drove out the Austrians. Charles was proclaimed King in Naples, and, pushing on into Sicily, conquered it, and was acknowledged King in Palermo.

In the following year France and Austria came to terms on the grounds that the right of Charles to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should be recognised on condition that he abandoned the duchies. Spain, thus finding herself left in the lurch, was forced to open negotiations for peace, which were concluded at Vienna in 1735.

In the intervals of peace the Bourbons attempted to restore some order in the internal administration of the

country. The policy advocated by Olivares, namely, the securing of political homogeneity within the borders of Spain, was followed in the destruction of the autonomous privileges of Catalonia and Aragon. Reforms in the fiscal policy were also introduced, and these were pushed forward by Patiño, who directed the government during the decade 1726 to 1736. He was an able diplomatist, and his skill as a financier and economist may be compared to that of his great English contemporary, Robert Walpole. During the years of his administration improvements were introduced in every department of the government. As a man of learning and culture he promoted the work of the Academies of Language and History which had recently been founded, and encouraged and protected all scientific and artistic centres. The fostering of Spain's navy was his especial care. Reforms had already been introduced into the army at the outset of the reign, when it was reorganised on the model of the French army of the time. The lack of infantry soldiers was met by the admission of foreigners, chiefly Irish and Swiss, who enlisted in considerable numbers. All branches of the army now followed the same flag, which was white, with the cross of Burgundy, two lions and two castles. It was not until later in the century in the reign of Charles III that the present Spanish flag, embodying the traditional red and gold, the colours which had appeared periodically on Spanish standards since the battle of Las Navas, became the military ensign. In the time of Philip V it was used only at sea. The navy, in spite of the reforms of Alberoni, was in a state of utter exhaustion and disorganisation, and this chiefly as a result of the crushing defeat it had suffered off Cape Passaro. Patiño, with characteristic energy, instituted naval colleges, constructed arsenals and dockyards,

subsidised the various branches of the service and founded trading companies for the promotion of commerce with America and the Philippines. Thus was gradually built and equipped a fleet which successfully recaptured Oran in 1732.

When in 1739 the long impending war at last broke out with England as a result of repeated infringements of trading rights in America, the Spanish fleet defended Cartagena, which Admiral Vernon attacked with a flotilla of ships of the line. Vernon had been so sure of victory that he had had a medal struck bearing the following legend, "Spanish pride humbled by Admiral Vernon. British heroes captured Carthage." An example of this medal may be seen to this day in the Archæological Museum of Madrid.

The war with England gradually merged into the European war of the Austrian Succession, which ensued on the death of the Emperor Charles VI. Spain and France united to oppose the territorial claims of England and Prussia, who entered the lists in support of Maria Theresa of Austria. In 1743 the Family Compact was renewed at the Treaty of Fontainebleau, and France undertook to aid Spain in capturing the Italian duchies. In the years which followed costly military operations were carried out in Italy and in the Mediterranean, which brought little profit or prestige to Spanish arms. The defection of France finally forced Spain to join in the negotiations for peace.

Philip V died in 1746 while these negotiations were in progress, and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand. The new King was a lover of peace. He signed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle two years later, and throughout his short reign he successfully preserved an attitude of neutrality

which afforded his realm a much-needed interval of repose.

Ferdinand at the conclusion of the treaty, in order to throw off the yoke of France, allied himself with Maria Theresa of Austria, an alliance to which he faithfully adhered in spite of the marked displeasure of his neighbour. Spain was now free from foreign interference and able to develop on her own lines.

The reign of Ferdinand is of importance in the history of Spain in that this King refused to be drawn into complications abroad in which the country as a whole could have no real interest, preferring to devote his time and energies to reform the crying grievances, both political and economic, of internal administration. In troublous times during ensuing reigns he was regarded as a model of kingly virtue. "I am King," this monarch used to say, "only in order to make my people happy; for this reason I seek peace and let no one speak to me of war."¹ This is the highest maxim which can govern the heart of a Christian prince. Ferdinand, though of medium intelligence, was upright and honest and had the penetration to choose two ministers who were able to initiate the reforms so long needed—namely, Ensenada and Carvajal.

Ensenada had been discovered and trained by Patiño, and when he came into power he directed all his efforts towards completing Patiño's work. Through his enterprise, and supported by Carvajal, the arsenals and the naval school flourished. Canals and roads were constructed, commerce was fostered by the promotion of trading companies, and agriculture protected. The old mediæval system of corn-stores, known as "positos," was revived, from which poor landowners might borrow at

¹M. A. de la Sandara, *Apuntes sobre el bien y el mal de España*. Ed. Desdévices du Dezert.

low interest at sowing time. The deficit in the National Treasury was reduced by careful administration and economy, the system of taxation was simplified and for the first time since the reign of the Catholic Kings the national finances began to recuperate.

It was unfortunate for Spain that Ferdinand reigned for so short a time. The death of the Queen, Barbara de Braganza, who for her gentleness and talents was universally beloved, unhinged his mind, and he died of melancholia in the prime of his life.

Charles III succeeded his half-brother Ferdinand on the Spanish throne, leaving the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to his son Ferdinand. Having watched the success of his predecessor's policy, he was anxious to follow it. In this he was influenced not only by the improvements in the administration, but also by his wife, Queen Amalia, who was frankly hostile to France. But constant provocation on the part of England, and the death of Amalia in the following year, drove Spain to accept the offers of a French alliance. The growth of Spain's naval power was displeasing to England, then engaged in empire-building. Disputes over fishing rights off Newfoundland became each year more frequent and more bitter, and, to add to the disquiet of Spain, the English had made a landing in Honduras, built trading stations there and treated the Spaniards insultingly. Thus exasperated, Charles signed in 1762 the second Family Compact, a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance, which brought Spain into the Seven Years' War on the losing side. The English took Habana and Manila in spite of obstinate resistance on the part of the Spaniards. This blow to Spanish prestige made the war unpopular in Spain, and the following year, the resources having almost come to an end, the Peace of Paris

was signed with England. England was given the right to trade with Honduras, while she agreed to destroy the fortifications she had made there and to return Manila and Habana. All fishing rights off Newfoundland were refused to Spain, who in addition had to give up Florida. In compensation France ceded Louisiana to Spain, an embarrassing gift in view of the rebellion of the French in Louisiana, who protested against the cession of their country.

Friction still continued between England and Spain over trade disputes and boundary rights, and at the outbreak of the war between England and her American colonies, Charles III thought he saw an opportunity for punishing England and paying off old scores. But his minister, the Count of Aranda, was unfavourable to an immediate alliance with France on the latter's recognition of the independence of the colonists in 1778. Aranda saw in an independent American State a greater menace to Spanish power in America than England could ever be. Spain therefore first offered to mediate between the contending Powers. But as her peace offers were ignored by England, who continued her attacks on Spanish ships, Spain entered the war on the side of France and the American colonists in 1779. A joint French and Spanish invasion of England was planned and a fleet fitted up, which, however, was foiled of its objective by bad weather. It had the effect, however, of keeping the English ships in harbour, thus preventing the expedition of reinforcements to America. Siege was laid to Gibraltar in 1780 and the position would have been captured had not an English fleet come to its relief at the last moment. But this failure was compensated for by the capture of Minorca in 1782, by the expulsion of the English from

Honduras, and by the reconquest of Florida. Negotiations for peace followed, and a treaty was signed at Versailles according to which Spain received back Minorca and Florida, while the rights of the English in Honduras were strictly limited. Spain returned the Bahamas to England.

Charles III was perhaps the Spanish monarch who most nearly approached the ideal of the enlightened despot, and his reign shines as an interlude of hope and effort, which were cut short by his successor. He showed on the whole good judgment, foresight, and a deep desire for reform, in spite of opposition on the part of those in whose favour the reforms were carried out. "My subjects are like children, they cry when they are washed," he is reported to have said, and in this phrase we have an expression of his conception of the relationship between King and people.

At the beginning of his reign Charles's chief ministers were all foreigners—Wall, an Irishman, and Esquilache and Grimaldi, who were Italians. The reforms which they advocated were beneficial to the country—the suppression of mendicity, a law providing for the free circulation of wheat within the borders of Spain, the introduction of the lottery as a means of adding to the public revenue. But the application of the new laws proved almost an impossibility, for they were hated by the country at large, and Esquilache became a victim of public dislike. The promulgation of a Royal Decree in 1766 forbidding the use of the Spanish hat and cape was the signal for an armed rising in Madrid which came to be known as the *Motin de Esquilache*. The rebels protested not only against the new regulations, but also against the presence of foreigners on the Council, notably that of Esquilache,

and the King was forced to exile his minister and to call upon the Count of Aranda to restore order.

Aranda was a man of outstanding personality, and as President of the Council of Castile he displayed his vast powers as administrator and reformer. His cordiality and bonhomie won for him a wide popularity, and it was his custom never to refuse audience to anyone who solicited it of him. It was his strength of character which repressed the revolt of 1766 and finally persuaded the King, hurt and resentful at the treatment of his subjects, to leave his retirement in Aranjuez and to return to his capital. Aranda was a disciple of Voltaire and deeply read in the works of the French philosophers and encyclopædists. In 1767 he won for himself European fame by persuading Charles to expel the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions, alleging them to have been the provokers of the *Motin de Esquilache*, which had caused such bitter moments of humiliation and disillusion to the King. No proof of the complicity of the Society in the plot has ever come to light, and it is difficult to determine in what the greatness of an achievement lies which deprived Spain of thousands of citizens whose lives were devoted to the fostering of religion and culture.

Aranda undertook with energy and success the promotion of the reforms instituted by his predecessors, but his arrogance and ambition soon brought him into collision with the monarch, who was himself actively engaged in the administration of the country and deeply interested in any scheme which tended to the amelioration of existing conditions. As a result Aranda was sent as Ambassador to Paris, and Charles governed the realm with the aid of Floridablanca and later of the able Campomanes.

The economic state of Spain at the accession of Charles III is reflected in a paper drawn up at the King's request by Don Miguel de la Gandara. He declared the most pressing need of the time to be the fostering of agriculture and pasturage. The northern provinces, where the system of small holdings obtained, were relatively prosperous, and if the fisheries were developed those regions would flourish. The aspect of other parts of the country was a sad one: "Houses fallen into ruin, the land deserted or badly cultivated, the labourers idle, the arts disregarded, factories closed, trade expiring, industries buried, the people unclothed, and the tax collectors confiscating and selling pots and ploughs." He alleged that the Spaniard was idle not from laziness, but because of the hopeless economic condition of the country, which robbed work of all its productiveness. The taxes were crushing rather on account of the manner and time of the levy than on account of the amount. Trade was unprofitable, for "Spain today is merely an aqueduct along which pass the gold and silver, the precious stones and rich fruits from the Indies to foreign powers." He then proceeded to show that Spain scarcely derived two and a half million pesos annually from all her vast territories beyond the seas, while France from her colonies received more than forty million. Large sums were spent on goods imported from other countries which might have been made in Spain: stuffs from England, linens from France, velvets and stockings from Genoa, wool and groceries from Holland, glass from Venice.

To meet the crying needs arising from this deplorable state of affairs Charles III instituted a series of reforms to foster agriculture, to revive industry and to stimulate trade. Technical schools and model workshops were es-

tablished to instruct the people. Under the protection of the monarch a glass factory was started at La Granja, silk industries flourished at Valencia and Talavera, and a porcelain factory at Buen Retiro in Madrid. Foreign workmen were brought to Spain to direct these concerns and to teach their art to Spaniards.

Roads were made between the principal towns, and a service of diligences established. Canals were cut and irrigation schemes were carried out; the problem of mendicity was dealt with by the construction of workhouses and asylums under the direction of a central committee in Madrid with branches in the provinces.

The most daring reform of this reign was the repopulation of vast tracts of uninhabited country in the Mancha and in Sierra Morena. The measure was authorised by a decree in 1767 and carried out under the direction of Campomanes. Some six thousand German families were brought to Spain, who, with some one hundred and forty Greek families and a hundred Swiss, were apportioned each a piece of land to cultivate. It was thus hoped that the depleted population of Spain might receive a valuable increment, the desert would flower, the agricultural output increase very considerably, and the nation at large benefit accordingly. To a great extent the undertaking was unsuccessful. The colonists had been too hastily chosen without reference to their physical and moral qualifications, and they were badly lodged in cottages unfit to withstand the rain and wind of that severe climate; moreover, there was no proper outlet for their produce. Had the Guadalquivir been navigable as far as Andujar, a lively trade might have developed; as it was, the corn rotted where it was cut. Some good results, however, accrued; villages sprang up, some of which exist to the present day, and

the impulse given to agriculture by this measure, as well as by the model farm which Charles III set up at Aranjuez, was felt throughout the country. In those parts of the country where the lords of the soil habitually resided for a part of each year conditions improved considerably. The nobles of this epoch were wont to travel more than heretofore and were brought in touch with the new ideas on economic questions and on questions of education which were widely discussed in France and in England, where Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" initiated a new epoch. An interesting account of the visit of one of the great landed proprietors to his domains in La Mancha is given in a manuscript of the time. It was probably written by the tutor of the son of the Marquis de Fernán-Núñez, who accompanied his father on the visit. The journey from Madrid to La Mancha was made in post chaises drawn by mules gay with tinkling bells. Each chaise had its own name as a ship has, and as ships are hailed at sea by lonely mariners, so were these equipages greeted on their way across the great plains.

At each town on the estate the travellers were received with every mark of rejoicing. The streets were filled with the country carts of the peasants from the neighbouring lands, who came crowding round the Marquis, calling him Father. At Valdepeñas the famous cellars were inspected. The Marquis also visited the cloth factory and soap works which he had established, where men and women of all ages were employed. At the schools which he had founded the boys and girls were assembled in perfect order, and recited parts of the Catechism for their patron. At Santa Cruz de Mudela, the principal town on the estates, the time was passed in receptions for all the principal personages, and in the investigation of the run-



CHARLES III



CHARLES IV

ning of all the various interests of the locality. There were visits to local shrines and to the convent, and there were days spent in shooting during which extensive tracts of land were traversed and schemes for further cultivation and the establishment of villages in uninhabited parts of the country were drawn up. The tedium of the evenings was relieved by music and dancing,—*seguidillas* performed to the accompaniment of violins and guitars,—and singing. There were many who sang, we are told, but most of them badly.

The prosperous conditions portrayed, though perhaps exaggerated, nevertheless existed in these domains, for the Marquis de Santa Cruz played a leading part in the administration of his lands, oversaw the work of his agents, and devoted time and energy to the advancement of the people who lived within his sphere of influence. In the cases where landlords abandoned the management of their affairs to stewards, the plight of the peasants was very different, and so general was this absenteeism that, rather than settle on the estates of a nobleman, it was considered far preferable to live on Crown property, where the royal judges were more enlightened and less cruel and oppressive in their treatment of the people.

Interest in education, which was so general in eighteenth-century Europe, made itself apparent in Spain also. There was a growing tendency to secularise education in order to free it from traditions and methods which were considered incompatible with progress. Some of the nobles set up schools on their own domains, though the instruction of their own children was confided to tutors and governesses. The Conde de Fernán-Núñez addressed a letter to his children shortly before his death, which contains his conception of the duties of people born in their

state of life and the manner in which they can be best fitted to discharge them. He is opposed to long, involved studies, and deplotes the education given in the colleges of the time. He advocates constant industry and the avoidance of laziness and idleness, and he recommends plenty of fresh air and exercise, so that the natural ardour of youth may find a fitting outlet for its energy. He sets forth the great advantages to be derived from travel, but he warns against the danger of gambling and urges the avoidance of useless discussions on matters of religion. He seems to be fully alive to the drawbacks of home education and the dangers consequent on the constant adulation from servants and dependents who surround people of high position, and gives us a glimpse of his own methods of counteracting this flattery. "I hope," he says, "you have not forgotten the times I have made you kiss their feet to obtain pardon for your arrogant bearing towards them."²

The universities, so flourishing in the sixteenth century, had fallen into decay. They had drifted away from the national life of the country, and were now merely resorts where scholars pursued a prolonged routine of studies and speculation on useless matters. Charles III made an effort to reform them, and they were invited to submit new plans of studies which would include the teaching of subjects such as Civil Law, Mathematics, Agriculture, History and Mechanics. Many of the schemes drawn up show enlightenment and promise of an improvement in the standard of academic achievement. But the resistance which the application of these schemes encountered within the universities themselves rendered the work of reform so very slow that in many cases the disruptive disturbances

²*Memoria*. Conde Fernán-Núñez. Ed. Morel-Fatio.

of the revolutionary wars upset the new schemes before they had been sufficiently established.

The slowness of response from the universities to the growing and insistent demand for centres of learning and study resulted in the foundation and fostering of several institutions outside the sphere of the universities. The Spanish Academy, founded by Philip V, assumed new importance in the intellectual life of the country. So also did the Academies of History and Art. New libraries were opened and orders were given to allow students to consult the documents deposited there. Botanic gardens and laboratories were started in various parts of the country. Geographical and scientific study and research were carried on, and important contributions were made to the common fund of knowledge in these two subjects. The results of much of the work done is contained in a monumental publication compiled between the years 1786 and 1789, the Geographical and Historical Dictionary of the Indies. Much time and care also was devoted to the making of accurate maps.

There are few monarchs whose names appear on so many buildings as does that of Carolus III Rex. Madrid is particularly rich in constructions bearing this legend, chief among them the Royal Palace. The sober strength which is the distinguishing characteristic of the architecture of the time strikes the note of reaction from the extravagant overloading with ornament in the Baroque era.

The feastings and ostentatious display of the previous century now gave place to settled order and reserve. Dramatic performances were only tolerated by Charles III, and the Prince of Asturias absolutely refused to

assist at the light French operas and comedies which were in vogue.

Nevertheless, on important occasions, ceremonies were performed with all the former costliness and magnificence, and the contrast they made with the sparing mode of everyday life rather served to enhance their brilliance. The marriage of the Conde de Tendilla to the daughter of the Marquis de Villafranca provided a pretext for a gorgeous celebration. The streets of the capital were a splendid sight as the wedding cortège, consisting of seven coaches of the latest style, carved and inlaid, drawn by horses in magnificent trappings, passed along. Powdered footmen and lackeys in brilliant liveries were in attendance, and the nobles who rode in the coaches were in gay uniforms and decked out with orders and jewels. The document continues to give a long account of the sumptuous apartments prepared for the bride and groom, in which appear all the artistic decorations and appointments of the eighteenth century,—painted ceilings, gilded mouldings, painted silks, china figures, inlaid marble tables, gilt furniture, handsome clocks and mirrors. Much taste was displayed also in the preparation of the refreshments that were served, “the variety of the drinks, their colouring and their temperature were as pleasant to the eye as to the taste.” The dessert was a chef d’œuvre of the skill of the pastry cook, a creation which called forth all the resources and devices of an art which is now almost lost. “It represented a garden all made of pastry in the middle of which . . . was a figure on a pedestal. At each side were galleries formed of four columns on pedestals, and on each of these was a different trophy. At the end of each gallery was an arch which bore the arms of the bridegroom and the bride. There were fountains

and groups of figures representing the seasons, and there were flowers in pots. The ground was made in different colours, and round the border were children playing with garlands and birds." The description of these celebrations serves to show the extent to which French taste in matters of fashion and decoration had penetrated into the country after the coming of the Bourbons. French influence is very marked also in the work of many of the writers of the time, and many of the plays owe their inspiration to Molière and other masters of French drama. In the region of fine art, however, Spain produced a genius who was most essentially representative of his own country. This was Francisco Goya, who during a long life of over eighty years created a series of masterpieces which have placed him among the foremost of the painters of the world.

The administration of the Spanish dominions of America underwent certain changes in the course of the eighteenth century incidental to the development of the states during the long period of consolidation which followed the era of conquest. The territories were divided into the Viceroyalties of Mexico, New Granada, Peru and Rio de la Plata, and four regions ruled by Captains-General,—Guatemala, Venezuela, Chile and Cuba. The power of the Viceroys was considerably curtailed by the appointment of Intendants directly responsible to the Crown, who had almost complete control of fiscal affairs. The Viceroys themselves were now chosen from among the ranks of the lesser nobility or officers of the army and navy, instead of from amongst the *grandees*.

As towns sprang up and grew in importance, colleges and schools were founded. The universities of Mexico and Lima had flourished since the sixteenth century, and

printing presses were kept busy. There are in existence more than a hundred books printed in Mexico in the sixteenth century.

Agriculture had been promoted throughout the dominions, for many of the Conquistadores settled down on the land which they had captured, and devoted the rest of their lives to its cultivation and development. Humboldt in his "*Essay politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne*" remarks on the care with which European plants were cultivated. Rice, wheat, vines, olives and sugar had been brought from Spain, and were giving excellent results in their new surroundings. Cows and horses, sheep, pigs, cocks and hens were also imported. Textile industries were thriving, and woolen goods, silks and linens were made in various centres. The products of tropical plants were also an unfailing source of wealth, and coffee, cotton and cocoa formed a valuable part of the produce.

Trade between the Indies and the Basque country had languished since the rise in importance of Seville and Cadiz, but the formation of the *Compañía Guipuzcoana* by Philip V revived, and it flourished during the eighteenth century.

From the outset it had been the wish of the Spanish sovereigns that the natives of their dominions across the seas should be well treated. The organisation under which the Indians lived was established for the most part by the religious missionaries who followed in the wake of the conquerors and whose work and achievements form one of the brightest pages in Spanish history. They set up centres or "missions" into which they gathered the Indians for protection and mutual help. They instructed them, teaching them to build houses, to make streets, to

cultivate the land for their own needs. Each mission was directed by two or more missionary fathers who directed the work, and, with the collaboration of some eight or nine Indians, attended to the administration of the affairs of the community. No European was permitted to spend more than three days within the boundaries of any mission. Certain fields were cultivated by the community in general, and the produce of these fields was shared by all. At the same time each family owned a plot of ground, large in proportion to the size of the family, which they cultivated exclusively for their own use. The women spun cotton and wool, and the men wove it into cloth. In each mission there were a number of master craftsmen, silversmiths, gilders, painters, potters. In certain places there were sculptors and bell founders. The food of the Indians consisted of corn bread, quantities of meat and some vegetables. Six months of the year were dedicated to the cultivation of the soil, and six hours' work was done each day. The rest of the year was devoted to other work: building, repairing roads and bridges, preparing the produce, tobacco and sugar principally, for export. The children were taught reading, writing, music and dancing. Much importance was attributed to the cultivation of these latter accomplishments, and every mission had its band of thirty or forty performers. The greater number of the early missions were directed by the Jesuits, who combined a considerable amount of geographical exploration and discovery with their apostolic work. After their expulsion from the Spanish dominions they were replaced in their religious capacity by other orders, notably by the Franciscans. But the civil administration of the missions passed into the hands of lay officials, and the prosperity of the missions gradually declined.

The death of Charles III in 1788 brought his long, beneficial reign to an end.

Although Charles did not possess those romantic qualities which evoke great popular enthusiasm, his people respected and esteemed him for the enlightened and active interest he took in their welfare. But in those who knew him and who were brought constantly into touch with him he aroused a very real admiration and affection which is expressed in numerous letters and documents of the time. One of the most interesting sketches of his character is given by the Conde de Fernán-Núñez, himself a gallant soldier, a distinguished diplomat, and, as we have seen, a progressive reformer in his own sphere. He describes Charles as "naturally good, humane, virtuous, a lover of his family, simple in manners and dress and deeply opposed to all affectation, pretence or vanity. He was gentle, and affable towards all in his service, sharing the interests and enquiring into the personal affairs of each one, most particularly should they be in need."⁸ He was essentially methodical and precise, and he applied himself unremittingly to work in order to combat the brooding melancholy to which the members of his family were subject.

The order of his day of which the Conde has left us an account was invariably the same, and was carried out with absolute exactitude and punctuality. At six the King was awakened, and at seven he passed into the Camara for the official levée where his *sumiller*, two gentlemen-in-waiting and two aides assisted him to dress. He breakfasted, and while he was taking his usual cup of chocolate the doctors paid their daily visit. He then heard Mass, visited his children, and then at eight retired to his private study, where he dealt with matters of State requiring his attention for

⁸*Vida de Carlos III.* Fernán-Núñez. Ed. Morel-Fatio.

three hours. At eleven his children came to him. After this he received the visits of his confessor and his minister, and the ambassadors and members of the diplomatic corps who had applied to him to grant them audience. The King dined in public and after dinner spent about a half hour conversing pleasantly with various grandees and diplomats, a minor art for which he had a very marked talent. In the summer he retired for a siesta. In the winter he went out immediately and hunted till dark. On his return he spent some time with his children before settling down again to work in private. When his business was concluded, if time allowed, he played a game of cards till half past nine, the hour for supper. He supped in private and was invariably served the same fare—soup, roast meat, usually veal, a fresh egg, some salad and a glass of sweet wine from the Canaries. During this meal his dogs were allowed in, and they bounded round him begging for the tidbits which were always prepared for them. After supper the King spent half an hour in prayer. He was then assisted to disrobe with the same ceremony as at his dressing in the morning, and then he retired to his room.

Charles was a great lover of the chase, and it was rarely that he missed a day's hunting. Constant exposure to the elements at every season of the year tanned his face and hands and gave him that hardened weather-beaten appearance which distinguishes his portraits. "He was deeply interested in agriculture, art, and every branch of industry, but it was building that infatuated him, for which reason the Marquis de Esquilache used to say that stone would be his ruin."⁴

⁴*Ibid.*

CHAPTER IX

The Early Years of the Nineteenth Century

CHARLES IV succeeded his father on the Spanish throne in 1788. The French Revolution which broke out in the following year affected the position of Spain perhaps more deeply than that of any other European power. The movement was directed against a Bourbon, and as a result must essentially concern so close a relation to the French King as was the King of Spain. Also the interaction of national aspirations and ambitions in Europe had led to the alliance of the two Bourbon Kings, and the change of government in France appeared to deprive Spain of a useful if interested ally. Trading disputes still seemed destined to hinder an Anglo-Spanish alliance, but such was the arrogance of the National Assembly of France in its attitude towards Spain that for a time all controversies were forgotten and relations with England became friendlier in character.

French influence prevailed on Charles to dismiss his minister, Floridablanca, and to replace him by the Conde de Aranda who was thought to be in sympathy with the doctrines of the Revolutionaries. But the demonstrations of the 20th of June and of the 10th of August, 1792, in France, were sufficiently disconcerting in character to alarm even Aranda, and to drive him into a defensive alliance with Prussia and Austria, only the fear of imperilling further the life of Louis XVI keeping him from

an open declaration of war. Aranda, in the midst of negotiations to rescue the French King, was replaced by Godoy, who, after two further attempts to obtain the release of Louis, entered the First Coalition with England, and hostilities broke out. The immense contributions of money and material which flowed in from all parts of the country testified to the popularity of this declaration against France, and the war opened favourably for the allied arms. The failure of the expedition to aid the Royalists at Toulon in 1793, however, marked the beginning of a series of defeats. The French occupied parts of Catalonia and the Basque provinces, and only on the conclusion of peace at Basle between the two countries in 1795 and the surrender by Spain of her part of the island of Santo Domingo, did the French troops retire from Spanish soil. In the following year the bitterness of trade disputes between Spain and England produced a Franco-Spanish alliance. The English inflicted a severe blow on the Spanish fleet in a naval battle off Cape St. Vincent, and captured the island of Trinidad.

These defeats and the subsequent taking of Naples by the French failed to rouse Charles IV to action, in spite of the indifference shown by the French Directory to Spanish interests. His attitude may be attributed partly to his innate laziness and indecision, and partly to an infantile hope that by his complacence he might win for himself the French throne.

The rise of Napoleon to power, though welcomed by Spain, marked no change in the attitude of France. Spanish resources were drawn upon for the furtherance of French interests, and Napoleon even succeeded in persuading Charles to place the entire Spanish force at his command, dazzling him with promises of estates in Italy

in return for his assent. In 1801 the kingdom of Etruria was created and given to the Infante Luis, Charles IV's son-in-law, in return for the cession of Louisiana and for Charles's promise to punish Portugal for her failure to co-operate with France against England. In 1802 Spain was further obliged to consent to the cession of Trinidad to England.

Within a year war again broke out between France and England, at an inopportune moment for Napoleon, who had not yet had time to construct the fleet with which he contemplated invading England. He therefore looked to Spain for help, and by dint of threats and promises secured her alliance in 1804. Spain's co-operation, in fact, was the keystone of Napoleon's plan of campaign. The French admiral Villeneuve, with a combined French and Spanish fleet, was to draw the English fleet across the Atlantic, and having done so was to slip back, and, sailing up the now unguarded English Channel, land an enormous army in England. The plan might well have succeeded, had not Nelson got wind of it and warned the Admiralty in time to concentrate a fleet to meet Villeneuve on his return journey off Cape Finisterre. Villeneuve, after an indecisive action, withdrew to Corunna. A month later he left that port, and instead of going north to join the rest of the fleet at Brest, turned south and entered Cadiz, where he was blockaded by Nelson. The indignation of Napoleon knew no bounds. Taunts and threats were showered on the admiral who had destroyed his hopes of crushing England by an armed invasion, and it was only owing to the opposition of the Spanish Admiral Gravina that he hesitated to rush out into the jaws of the British forces. On the point of being superseded, he ventured out, however, hoping to slip

through the Straits of Gibraltar and check the British operations against Naples. Nelson caught him, and the battle of Cape Trafalgar resulted. The victory of Nelson completely shattered the maritime power of Spain, which in the preceding century had been built up with so much care and effort; henceforth, Britain held the supremacy of the seas, and Spain, threatened by the enormous military power of France, her resources crippled, her forces disorganised, was brought by her self-seeking rulers to a position of servile abasement, from which only the pride, spirit and courage of her people could rescue her.

It was unfortunate for Spain that her destinies rested in the hands of Charles IV at so critical a moment of her existence, and that she produced no statesmen sufficiently able and disinterested to protect her national prestige. Charles IV was no doubt an amiable, well-meaning monarch, but he was vacillating and undecided, and knew and cared nothing about affairs of State. His one absorbing interest was hunting, and it is recorded that he never missed a hunt, no matter how pressing and important the business to which he might be called to attend. He was therefore only too pleased to leave the management of his kingdom to his ministers, and had there been among them a Cardinal Cisneros, or a Patiño, this doubtless would have been a profitable arrangement. But Spain was not destined to find a saviour among her ministers. At the beginning of the reign, the Cortes was summoned and the Salic law, which had been introduced into Spain by Philip V, was repealed. The assembly was soon prorogued because of the spread of revolutionary doctrines which were wholly unpleasing to a Bourbon, and to the frankly monarchical opinions of Charles's minister Floridablanca. The reforms initiated in the preceding reigns were car-

ried still further during that of Charles IV by Florida-blanca, by the Count of Aranda, who replaced him in 1792, and more especially by Godoy.

Manuel Godoy had been trained in the intricacies of government by Aranda himself. Quick and versatile, light of wit, pleasing and debonair, the young guardsman worked himself into the good graces of the Queen Maria Luisa of Savoy, and her enormous influence over her complacent husband won for Godoy the highest positions and honours in Spain. The jealousy which his success naturally roused and the intense hatred of the people at large for the upstart have almost crowded out the consideration of the reforms he enacted, which in happier times would have been of undoubted benefit to Spain. Having provided for the improvement of the armed and naval forces of the country, Godoy turned his special attention to the spread of culture, the fostering of educational institutes and the development of methods of national instruction. The number of schools was increased, and entrance to them facilitated. A commission was named to study new improvements in education, and Swiss teachers were brought to Spain to propagate their methods and their books.

But the astounding rapidity with which Godoy rose to fame and power was sufficient to unbalance a stronger man than he. A special title was created and conferred on him, of Prince of the Peace, after the signing of the Treaty of Basle, and not even the pressure of French diplomacy could deprive him of the entire confidence of the sovereigns and exclude him from their court or their council. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that his self-confidence grew to presumption, that his own importance shut out from his sight the interests of his country,



Upper—PALAFOX
Lower—GODOY

and that he thought to match himself with one of the greatest diplomats Europe has ever produced. The French Ambassador of this time described him in his report, "Frivolous, indiscreet, careful only in his own affairs, lazy to an extreme, his principle is to act without principle, his mainspring is gold, his policy deception."¹

The opposition to Godoy in court circles was headed by Ferdinand, the Prince of the Asturias, who, although of an age to study the administration of the country he was to rule, found himself excluded from all part in the government. His attitude was known by the country at large, and in proportion to the growth of popular hatred for the favourite, popular love for Ferdinand increased.

Such a state of affairs offered a fruitful soil for intrigue, and Napoleon realising after the campaign of 1805-1807 that neither Charles IV nor Godoy could be relied upon, determined to take advantage of the situation to remove the Bourbons from Spain.

After the defeat at Trafalgar, hatred of Godoy's servile attitude towards France ran so high that the minister opened secret negotiations with England. Napoleon's victory at Jena, however, made him withdraw and assume friendly relations with France, with whom, hoping to allay Napoleon's suspicions, he concluded a treaty in accordance with which Spanish troops were sent to assist the French in Germany, while French troops were to be allowed a passage through Spain in order to attack Portugal. The dismemberment of Portugal was to follow: one part was to be apportioned to Godoy, who was to receive the title of Prince of the Algarbes; another part was to be given to the King of Etruria to compensate for the loss of Etruria, and the third part was to be ex-

¹Letter of Beauharnais, 1806. Ed. Desdevises du Dezert.

changed for Gibraltar, Trinidad and other English conquests.

Almost simultaneously with the conclusion of this treaty, Ferdinand, veering round from his attitude of hostility to France at the instigation of his friend and adviser Escoiquiz, wrote himself to Napoleon, placing himself under the special protection of the Emperor as against the machinations of Godoy, and begging the hand of one of the Emperor's family in marriage. It was thus that the arrival of Junot in Spain at the head of a French army was regarded by both parties as a fulfilment of promises made by Napoleon.

The discovery of a plot against the lives of the sovereigns, in which Ferdinand was implicated and which revealed the secret understanding with Napoleon, was only looked upon by the country at large as a trick invented by Godoy to ruin the Prince, a point of view that was strengthened by Napoleon's denial of the existence of any such understanding. Junot meanwhile had subdued Portugal, the Portuguese royal family had fled to Brazil, and the country was in the hands of the French. Still the promised distribution of kingdoms did not take place; instead, in 1808, two more French army corps crossed the Pyrenees and occupied the border fortresses in Guipúzcoa and Catalonia.

The veil at last fell from Godoy's eyes, and, wholly disillusioned, he tried to order the French retirement. The Council, however, refused to take any steps in the matter, and the people themselves were more inclined to look to the French to place Ferdinand on the throne, and so rid themselves of the hated yoke of Godoy, than to drive them out of the country.

At the advance of the French army in the north the

court retired south to Aranjuez. This alarmed the people, who, believing that their beloved Ferdinand was being taken away, rose up and assaulted the house of Godoy and surrounded the palace at Aranjuez. The King, finding that the sympathies of the troops were with the Prince, abdicated in his favour.

A popular Bourbon on the throne meant the ruin of Napoleon's plan to place one of his own family there. Murat therefore advanced to Madrid, ostensibly as Ferdinand's ally, with instructions to persuade Charles to retract his abdication. The old King readily fell into the trap, and at the suggestion of the French general started off hastily for Burgos to secure an interview with Napoleon before Ferdinand should see the Emperor. At the same time Ferdinand set out from Madrid for the same reason, and, not finding the Emperor in Burgos, determined to go to seek him out in Bayonne. Here at last Napoleon unmasked, definitely refusing to recognise Ferdinand as King of Spain and forcing him to renounce all his titles. Ten days later Charles, Maria Luisa and Godoy arrived. A series of shameful family scenes of mutual accusation and recrimination followed, and finally Charles abdicated the throne of Spain in favour of Napoleon, receiving from the latter the chateau of Chambord and the estates of Compiègne as a refuge for himself and his family.

Meanwhile popular suspicion and unrest began to manifest itself in Spain. The attitude of the French troops became overbearing and provoking, and little by little rumours as to the true state of affairs began to spread. The Junta nominated by Ferdinand to rule in his absence had not the courage to take up a resolute attitude towards the French in spite of the display of

popular opposition to them in Burgos, Toledo and other towns. At last on May 2nd, 1808, the people of Madrid took the initiative. The departure of the young Infante Francisco de Paula, who had been sent for by his father, was the occasion of the outbreak of hostilities. The crowd gathered round the carriage to impede its progress, shots were fired, fighting ensued. The Junta forbade the Spanish troops to move, but a young artillery captain, Velarde, constituted himself the popular leader, and, with the help of a lieutenant named Ruiz, conducted the crowd to the artillery park, where he persuaded the captain, Daoiz, that the necessity of their country overruled the orders of a temporary council. He, with his followers, passed in, and for several hours the battle raged. The victory was, of course, for the French, who had almost unlimited reserves of men and material at their disposal. Daoiz and Velarde were killed and the rebellion repressed with severity. The French occupation of Spain had begun.

The War of Independence in Spain filled all Europe with amazement. There had been little in the events of the three preceding centuries to indicate the existence of the depth of national feeling which was then displayed, and since the rising of the comuneros in 1519 there had been an almost complete absence of popular assertion. The wave of patriotism which hurled itself against the invading French and surged and eddied round them, engulfing in its flood the victors of all Europe, was as unprecedented as it was unequalled.

The severity with which the rising of May 2nd in the capital was repressed, and the cruelties perpetrated on the populace by Murat and his troops, were all that was needed to reveal the true character of the French

occupation to the country at large. The news of the events in Madrid trickled out to the surrounding villages. In Mostoles, only some ten miles distant, it provoked the first show of resistance, and the Mayor, drawing up an appeal to the country at large to follow him in defence of Spain, declared war on the invader. The torch of rebellion thus lighted was carried from province to province, where the people, abandoned by their government in their hour of need, organised local committees for defence and sprang to arms. From Asturias the movement spread until all the north was aflame. In Catalonia the old Somatenes, or local militia abolished by Philip V, were revived, while in the north-west of the Peninsula armies were mustered under General Blake in Galicia and General Cuesta in León. The French suffered their first reverse at the battle of Bruch in Catalonia; then at Saragossa, Lefebvre met with determined resistance organised by the popular leader Palafox. In the south the army of patriots under General Castaños, fed by detachments from all of the provinces, was growing steadily, and Murat determined to crush it. Dupont advanced from Madrid into Andalusia, and making a triumphal entry into Cordoba proceeded to sack the town. But the news of the advance of the army of Castaños drew him out to meet it. At Bailén on the Guadalquivir he came face to face with the bulk of the Spanish army and gave battle. One day's fighting was followed by forty-eight hours of deliberation, which resulted in the surrender of Dupont and all his army—some eighteen thousand in all—into the hands of the Spanish. A fatal blow was thus struck to the prestige of Napoleonic arms and the vibrations shook the edifice of the Napoleonic empire to its foundations. At the news

of Bailén, Lefebre raised the siege of Saragossa. The Portuguese took heart and rose against the invader, and Wellington, landing with an English army at Cintra, forced the French to evacuate the country.

Meanwhile Murat, obeying the orders of his master, had induced the Council to draw up a petition requesting that the Emperor should appoint his brother Joseph King of Spain. The coming of Joseph Bonaparte was hailed by many Spaniards whose political ideas were based on the writings of the French reformers and whose political creed was formed under the influence of the French Revolution. Still his position was from the first an impossible one. Honest and peace-loving, he was only too well aware of the wrongs done to Spain, but the constant interference of his all-powerful brother deprived him of the possibility of remedying these evils. Ten days after his arrival in Madrid the news of the capitulation of Bailén and the break-up of the French power in the south forced him to fly from the capital and to retreat across the Ebro.

The Council of Regency named by Ferdinand to rule in his stead under the presidency of his uncle, Don Antonio, gradually ceased to exist, and in its stead was formed by popular initiative a central assembly consisting of two deputies sent from each province—some thirty-five members in all—and known as the Supreme Central Council. It met at Aranjuez under the presidency of the aged Count of Floridablanca, and set to work to organise resistance to the invader. Forgetting their time-worn grievances, they made common cause with England, which country, almost exhausted by the pressure of the Continental System, was glad of a worthy opportunity of championing both Spain and Portugal against France.



JOSEPH BONAPARTE



FERDINAND VII

Spanish soldiers who had been sent by Godoy in 1806 to help Napoleon in Austria and who were now detained in Denmark with their leader, the Marquis de la Romana, were smuggled back to Spain in English ships, and an English army of thirty-five thousand men under the leadership of Sir John Moore advanced from Portugal into Spain. Napoleon then determined to take upon himself the task of subduing Spain, and with a huge army crossed the frontier in the autumn of 1808. While Soult assaulted and pillaged Burgos, and Lefebre inflicted a severe defeat on Blake's army at Espinosa de los Monteros, the Emperor pressed on to Madrid. Finding his way blocked at the pass of Somosierra in the Guadarrama, he hurled his guard against the Spanish artillery which scattered before the shock of the onslaught. Madrid capitulated, and from the Pardo Napoleon fulminated his laws for the reform of his newly acquired country. His brother Joseph was reinstated, the Inquisition was abolished, the number of convents was reduced by two-thirds, and all surviving feudal rights were annulled.

He was meditating an advance upon Lisbon and the south when he learned that the allied Spanish and English armies were threatening his communications in the north. Wheeling his forces north again, he decided on an instant attack which would finally crush all armed opposition. At this, Moore drew back, Soult and Ney bore down upon him from the northeast, the Emperor himself threatened from the south. There followed on both sides heroic marches across snow-clad mountains, dangerous defiles, barren wastes. Napoleon, overtaken by news of trouble in Austria, was forced to relinquish the pursuit to Soult, who followed Moore to Corunna, where, as the

result of a battle fought there in January, 1809, Moore lost his life, but enabled his army to embark in safety.

Meanwhile Moncey had laid siege to Saragossa, which offered a heroic resistance, sustained by all the citizens without exception. The bravery shown by the Countess de Barieta and Agustina de Aragon has become a legend. The French finally entered the stricken, smoking city in February, 1809. Gerona was also besieged in the same year, and it cost the invader a struggle of seven months to conquer the immense courage of a mere handful of starving men under their leader, General Álvarez de Castro. Little by little all the great fortresses fell, the Spanish troops were obliged to take refuge in the mountain fastnesses, and French domination seemed complete. Still the national spirit was kept alive by small bands of irregular troops which were formed in various parts of the Peninsula under courageous patriots, chief among whom may be mentioned Martinez Diaz, the "Empecinado," Jeronimo Merino, Juan Diaz Porlier. These bands kept up a guerilla war, harassing the French armies and stimulating courage and resistance.

In addition to these, the presence of an English army in Portugal under Wellington was a standing menace to the French power in the Peninsula. On Wellington's advance into Spain in 1809, Cuesta marched his troops to meet him, and the united armies defeated the French forces at Talavera. The arrival of French reinforcements, however, forced Wellington to retire, and the Spaniards, attempting to march on Madrid, were utterly defeated at Ocaña. In 1810 Napoleon ordered Massena to Spain with a huge army, which rolled across the Peninsula until it was checked by Wellington at Busaco and then left by him to die of hunger and sickness out-

side the impregnable fortifications he had made at Torres Vedras. When Massena retired to France in the spring of 1811 he had lost no less than twenty-five thousand men, his prestige had suffered a shattering blow, and the Spanish army in the interval of his discomfiture had been reconstituted and divided into six army corps. In 1812 Wellington, having stormed and captured the border fortresses of Badajoz and of Ciudad Rodrigo, advanced to Salamanca and in union with the Spanish army put Marmont's army to the rout at Arapiles and entered Salamanca and Valladolid. From here Wellington advanced through the famine-stricken country and entered Madrid, from which Joseph and his followers had fled but a few days earlier. The final victory was won by the allies at Vitoria in the following year, when the French army under Joseph was converted into a flying rout before Wellington's triumphal march to the Bidasoa. As a result Napoleon came to terms with Ferdinand, and in the Treaty of Valençay recognised him as King of Spain.

The Central Council, which in 1808 had tried to organise the various branches of the army, to draw order from prevailing confusion and to establish co-operative action between the separate provinces, had retired to Seville on the coming of Napoleon to Madrid. After the defeat of the Spanish army at Ocaña it retreated to Cadiz, where it appointed a regency of five of its members and dissolved itself. The Council of Regency summoned a Cortes to which came representatives from all parts of Spain. They met in September, 1810, amid scenes of patriotic rejoicing and enthusiasm, for was not this the first representative parliament that Spain had witnessed for centuries? The assembly proceeded to declare

Ferdinand's abdication null and void; the Inquisition was abolished, the privileges of the clergy were reduced, the cultivation of waste lands encouraged. Its most famous achievement was the framing of the celebrated code known as the Constitution of 1812, which was destined to become a party cry throughout the ensuing reign. The monarchy was declared hereditary; under the parliamentary constitution legislative power was vested in a single chamber, the Cortes, the executive power resided with the King's ministers, the judicial with the judges. The Cortes was to be summoned annually and to vote all taxes, while the King's right of veto was restricted to the third voting, after which a bill would automatically become law.

In the following year quarrels and discussions so divided the parties that the assembly broke up in disorder, and a new Cortes met in 1814 to welcome Ferdinand back to his country.

The return of Ferdinand was marked by an outbreak of reactionary fever of the worst kind. All those who had advocated reform or supported the Cortes in its work of remodelling the Constitution were imprisoned, and many were executed. The Inquisition was re-established, ecclesiastical property was restored and the press strictly muzzled.

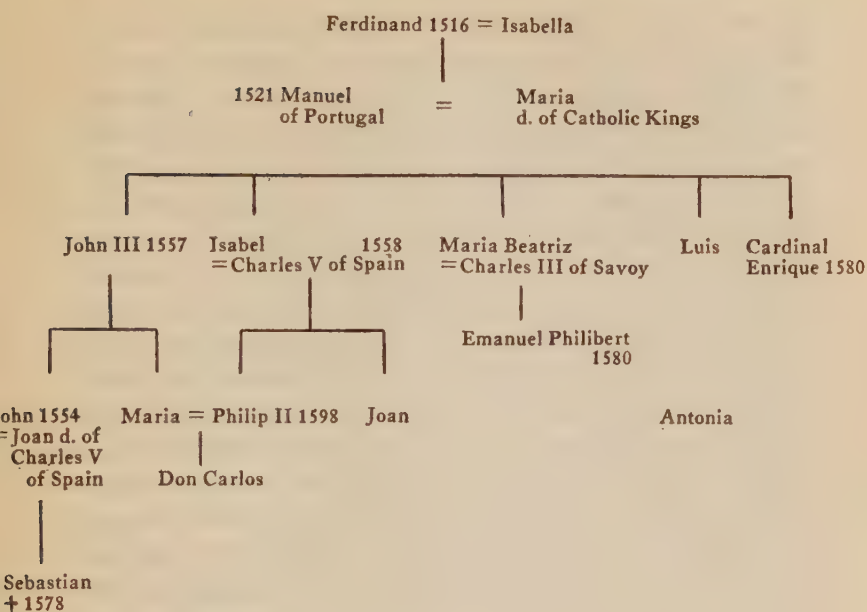
Between the various members of the absolutist parties there were incessant quarrels and disagreements which resulted in constant changes in the ministry, so that during the six years from 1814 to 1820 there were no less than thirty different ministries. The country grew tired of a policy of repression which brought no material advantages in its wake, and in 1820 the troops which had been assembled at Cabezas de San Juan under orders to

suppress the insurrection in the American colonies revolted under their commander, Colonel Riego, and proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. They were supported by a series of manifestations in other parts of the country, and Ferdinand, anxious not to go on his travels again, swore to uphold the Constitution, appointed the liberal leader Martinez de la Rosa minister, and announced his sympathy with the new movement by his words, "Let us be the first to advance boldly along the path of constitutionalism." But the liberal leaders were little more efficient than their adversaries, disputes and jealousies divided them, and their new code, reorganising as it did the whole national life on the principles and ideals of the French Revolution, was impracticable. The Holy Alliance under the direction of Metternich had been formed, meanwhile, between Austria, France, Prussia and Russia, to suppress all constitutional movements, in whatever country they might occur. France therefore determined to intervene in Spanish affairs to save Ferdinand from the yoke of liberalism, and in 1823 sixty thousand French troops under the leadership of the Duke of Angoulême marched into Spain. The absolutists joined their ranks, and the ten thousand Sons of San Luis, as the army came to be called, entered Madrid and marched from there on Cadiz, the liberal stronghold to which the government had retired. After a few hours' fighting the ministry resigned and Ferdinand returned to his capital an absolute King. His concurrence in the re-establishment of an absolute régime may have been due not only to the natural satisfaction of a monarch, the descendant of a long line of despots, but also to a realisation that Spain was not yet ripe for the measure of self-government which the new constitution accorded her, a point of view

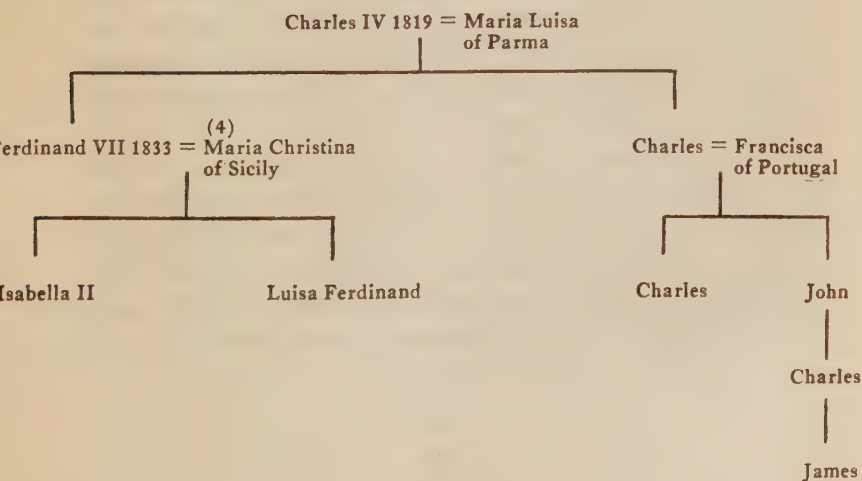
which his friends did not fail to put before him unceasingly. A violent reaction followed the fall of the liberal government; scores of people were imprisoned, there were numerous executions, and Riego and the famous guerilla leader, the "Empecinado," once the beloved hero of the nation, were put to death. Not content with these measures, the absolutist party in Catalonia known as the "Apostolics" provoked a rising by demanding the re-establishment of the Inquisition, which in fact reappeared for a time in the form of local committees of the Faith. The leaders of this party, Equia, Bessières and Eroles, were later the chief supporters of the Carlist cause.

During the last years of Ferdinand's reign, interest centred round the question of the succession to the throne. In 1829 Ferdinand's third wife, Queen Amalia of Saxony, died childless, and the King's failing health seemed to insure the speedy succession of his brother Carlos to the throne of Spain. A few months later, however, Ferdinand married his fourth wife, Maria Cristina of Naples. This was the moment chosen by Ferdinand to publish the law passed, but not promulgated, by the Cortes in 1789, abolishing the Salic Law which had been introduced into Spain by Philip V. Don Carlos protested against this measure, which deprived him of all right to the throne unless in the case of entire failure of issue to the King and Queen. In 1830 the Queen gave birth to a daughter, Isabella, who received the oath of allegiance from the Cortes in 1833. Don Carlos, asserting his own right to succeed Ferdinand on the throne, left Spain to await his brother's death before making good his claim by force of arms. A few months later the King died, appointing Maria Cristina Regent of Spain during the minority of the young Queen Isabella II.

THE PORTUGUESE SUCCESSION



THE CARLIST CLAIM



The domestic turmoil in Spain found an echo in the colonies overseas. It was inevitable that the shock of the downfall of the monarchy in 1808 should reverberate throughout her possessions in America. The colonies had continued to grow in size and importance since the time of their discovery and foundation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and during the eighteenth century the administration had been modified to meet the requirements of such vast possessions. Viceroyalties were appointed by the home government to rule Mexico, New Granada, Peru and Rio de la Plata; Guatemala, Venezuela, Chile and Cuba were governed by a Captain-General holding his authority from Madrid. The recognition of the independence of the English colonies in America had a considerable influence on the Spanish possessions, where the idea of a future independence began to spread. The French Revolution strengthened the hope that had begun to glimmer, and the French occupation of the mother country, coming as it did at such a moment, favoured the flame of liberty that had begun to burn.

The Venezuelan Francis Miranda, the precursor of South American freedom, visited the principal capitals of Europe, enlisting sympathy for his cause, while Bolivar at home organized the movement which was to culminate in the formation of the American republics. In 1810 risings took place in Venezuela and Chile, directed against the French, who, apparent masters of Spain, hoped to extend their dominion to her colonies. On the return of Ferdinand to Spain much might have been done by a wise and liberal administration to retain the loyalty of the colonies. But the reactionary fever at home and the repressive measures of General Morillo, who had been sent to restore order in America, only

exasperated the people and confirmed them in their determination to vindicate their independence. The government troops were defeated at the battle of Boyaca in 1819, and finally routed at Carabobo in 1821. Venezuela and New Granada united to form the republic of Colombia, and upper Peru was formed into a separate State with the name of Bolivia.

The Argentines had declared themselves independent in 1816, and joining the Chileans under their leaders O'Higgins and San Martín, they defeated the Spaniards. Chile declared itself a separate independent State.

With the victory of the Peruvians at Ayacucho in 1824, the last of the colonies of South America finally shook off the yoke of Spain and declared its complete independence.

Mexico might still have been saved, had not the ill-advised policy of the Spanish government driven the people into insurrection and won for them the sympathy of the European powers. France, apprehensive of the violence shown by the reactionaries on their return to power in 1823, and England, fully convinced that no reform or trade expansion could be hoped for, refused to interfere on behalf of Spain. The unity of the forces of reaction under the Holy Alliance alarmed Great Britain, and in 1825 she recognised the independence of the South American republics, thus in Canning's words calling "a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old."

It was not until 1844 that Spain herself recognised the independence of her colonies and resigned herself to the retention only of Puerto Rico and Cuba as the last vestiges of her immense possessions in America. The sun had set upon the Hapsburg empire.

CHAPTER X

The Later Years of the Nineteenth Century

THE history of Spain during the nineteenth century is so bound up with the interplay of party politics that some knowledge of the various groups which successively came into power is necessary before even an outline of the various changes and events can be followed.

The Progressionists or Liberals were those who upheld the principles embodied in the Constitution of 1812, and who were, therefore, in favour of a constitutional monarchy on the English system. To this party belonged such men as Espartero, Mendizabal and Olózaga.

Later on, towards the middle of the century, there grew up among the more advanced Progressionists a movement which led to the formation of a democratic party, and which advocated an entire change in the system of government. The more important members of this group were Francisco Giner, Pi y Margall, Canalejas, Castelar and Prim.

In opposition to the Liberals there was the party of the extreme right, reactionary in its creed and regarding an absolute monarchy as the ideal form of government. Bravo Murillo and González Bravo were among its leaders. There was a less extreme branch of this group known as the Moderate or centre party, whose political creed was directed rather towards curbing the extravagances of the Progressives and modifying the conservatism of the extreme right than towards effecting any definite reform.

Martinez de la Rosa, Isturiz and Narváez were its most distinguished protagonists.

The Liberal Union Party grew out of the more moderate elements among the Progressives and the reactionaries, and was organised by O'Donnell as a curb on the activities of the Democrats; Narváez, Serrano and Canovas were members of the Liberal Union.

In accordance with Ferdinand's will, the government of Spain was entrusted at his death to a Council of Regency under the presidency of Queen Maria Cristina during the minority of her daughter Isabella II.

The death of Ferdinand was the signal for the outbreak of the first Carlist war which was to exhaust and rend Spain for the succeeding seven years. The chief Carlist centre was the Basque country, for the Basques looked to Don Carlos, as the representative of the old system, to maintain their local autonomy and re-establish the power of the *fueros*. Their forces were assembled and organised by General Zumalacarregui, a military leader of the first rank. Had Don Carlos taken Zumalacarregui's advice and marched on Madrid at the outset, it is probable that the capital would have welcomed him. Half Europe had failed to recognise Isabella II; no preparations to meet the Carlist menace had been made by the minister Martinez de la Rosa; anti-clerical riots had broken out in Madrid, and neither Progressionists nor conservatives were satisfied with his colourless policy; whereas in Catalonia the Carlist cause was ably defended by Cabrera. But Don Carlos preferred to secure a strong fortress in the north, and ordered the siege of Bilbao. Here Zumalacarregui lost his life, and a month later the town was relieved by Espartero. Two more attempts were made by the Carlists to storm Bilbao, but the decisive vic-

tory of Espartero at Luchana in 1836 finally extinguished all Carlist hopes of capturing it. In 1837 the Carlist armies marched on the capital, Segovia was taken, and Don Carlos appeared at the very gates of Madrid. But at the approach of Espartero he took flight northwards, to meet the victor of Luchana at Retuerta and suffer another defeat at his hands. The rising petered out until in 1839 the Carlist general, Maroto, came to terms with Espartero, the agreement of Vergara was signed and Don Carlos fled to France, while Espartero with his newly won title of Duke de la Victoria entered Madrid among popular rejoicing.

As it was the Liberal Party who were the supporters of Isabella's title in opposition to the absolutist principles for which the Pretender, Don Carlos, stood, it was therefore natural that a liberal minister should be chosen. Martinez de la Rosa, the famous writer, came into power in 1834, and although he had been one of those who had framed the Constitution of 1812, he now proceeded by a number of measures embodied in a document known as the Royal Statute, to eradicate all the more far-reaching reforms provided for in the Constitution. These measures failed to please any party. His weakness in treating with the instigators of the anti-clerical riots in Madrid in 1834 and his failure to take measures to suppress the Carlist rising, led to a mutiny among the troops, and the soldiers demanded the establishment of the Constitution. Juan Álvarez Mendizabal, an advanced Liberal and a great financier, became minister. He instituted many measures of reform, chief among which may be noted the restoration of the provincial councils and the reorganisation of the army to meet the Carlist menace. The Church was deprived of a portion of the vast amount of the land held

by her in mortmain, while the State took upon itself the support of the clergy.

The Conservatives under their leader Isturiz effected a change of government some months later, but on the dissolution of the Cortes, manifestations in favour of the Constitution took place in several parts of Spain, including Madrid itself, and the Regent was obliged to sign a manifesto at the Granja formally recognising it. Calatrava replaced the ministry of Isturiz, and framed the Constitution of 1837. This provided for two legislative chambers and the election of deputies by direct vote. The Cortes was to be summoned annually, the sovereign was to sanction laws, the press was to be free, and no one might be imprisoned for any offence not specified by law. Meanwhile Mendizabal at the Treasury continued the reforms he had already initiated. In 1838 the pendulum of power swung towards the moderate party, but disputes continued and multiplied until they culminated in a riot in Madrid in 1840, and the Regent was obliged to recall the Progressives and entrust the government to Espartero. Finding it impossible to agree with his extreme political programme, Maria Cristina abdicated, and, retiring to France, left Espartero Regent of Spain.

Within a year the arrogance and high-handed methods of Espartero had alienated his own followers from him. A letter of the time written in Madrid to a German minister reveals the state of exhaustion and torpor which prevailed: "The army, disorganised by the demobilisation of so many old soldiers, is no longer a united whole; the nobility, now ruined, has no further influence or mode of action; the Carlists only wish to be forgotten; while the people, plunged in apathy, take no interest in anything. . . . 'Espartero,' says Campuzano, 'was never ambitious,

he was only vain, and as his vanity is satisfied there is nothing more for him to do.'"¹

In 1843 the Cortes declared Isabella II of age, and the regency ceased to exist.

In 1844 Narváez became minister. The Civil Guard had just been formed, the first railway laid, the Penal Code drawn up. Narváez followed up these reforms by framing the law known as the Constitution of 1845, modifying that of 1835 so as to enhance the power of the sovereign; in the same year Don Carlos abandoned his claim to the throne in favour of his son, and this second Don Carlos came to Spain to make good his title and later secured the covert support of England, indignant over the deception practised on her in the case of the Spanish marriages. The Carlist forces under Cabrera, however, were dispersed, and the revolutionary tendencies of 1848 were checked by severe measures of repression in order to prevent an outbreak in Spain similar to those taking place in France, Germany and Italy.

In 1846, after years of negotiation and deliberation, Isabella II married her cousin Francisco de Asis, her sister marrying at the same time the Duke of Montpensier, the son of Louis Philippe. This marked a triumph of French diplomacy over England, for in the case of a failure of heirs to Isabella, the Duke of Montpensier or his son would become King of Spain, and France would regain her ascendancy in the Peninsula. Between the years 1849 and 1854 there were no less than eight changes of ministry. In the latter year Espartero supported O'Donnell's opposition to the repressive policy of the government by a military rising at Vicalvaro which brought both himself and O'Donnell into power. The party of Liberal Union

¹Letter. Berlin State Archives. Ed. Stern.

was formed by O'Donnell, who was anxious to follow a policy of conciliation, but the constant disturbances in Madrid obliged him to employ severe measures to restore order. Narváez succeeded O'Donnell at the end of 1856, and in the following year an important measure providing for public education was drawn up by Moyano and passed. In 1858, O'Donnell, now the leader of the new party of Liberal Union, was recalled by the Queen, and for some years the government seemed to rest on a more secure basis. But the Progressives and Democrats were plotting against the government, and riots and disturbances were frequent in Madrid, where poverty and epidemics further increased popular discontent. Not even the three-quarters of the royal patrimony given by the Queen to improve the economic situation of the government sufficed to organise an adequate system of relief. In 1867 O'Donnell resigned, and, on his death some months later, was succeeded by Serrano as leader of the Liberal Union. The Queen chose the Conservative Gonzalez to be her minister at this critical juncture; the leaders of opposition were banished and the Cortes ignored. This sufficed to unite the Liberal Union Party with the Progressives and Democrats. Revolution was brewing throughout the years from 1866, and on September 18th, 1868, Prim provoked an insurrection in Madrid, while at the same time the fleet at Cadiz mutinied to the cry of "Down with the Bourbons" and demanded a return to a parliamentary government. The Queen's army was routed at Alcolea by Serrano's forces, and a provisional government was set up in Madrid. The Queen, who was at San Sebastian, desired to return to her capital, but she allowed herself to be dissuaded by her ministers. Following their advice she took train for France, her seven-year-old son and heir tugging



ALFONSO XII

ISABELA II

at her skirts and crying piteously, "Mama, à Madrid, à Madrid." Had she gone there, her cause might have been saved.

Foreign affairs reflected the domestic disturbances, and the lack of any continued settled home policy necessarily prevented the pursuance of any definite line of action abroad. It was not until O'Donnell had merged all the more moderate elements in politics into one party strong enough to hold its ground against the rest, that Spain was able to make herself felt beyond her frontiers. She then turned her attention to Morocco and declared war on the Sultan Muley Abderrahman in 1859. The Moors had destroyed the Spanish fortifications round Ceuta and insulted the Spanish flag. An expedition led by O'Donnell, Echague and others set forth to punish them. Prim won the battle of Castillejos after a stubborn resistance on the part of the Sultan's troops, while O'Donnell inflicted such a severe defeat upon the enemy at Wadi-Ras that Tetuan surrendered. A favourable peace was signed in 1860, and O'Donnell, the hero of the hour, received the title of Duke of Tetuan. In the following years O'Donnell, hoping to divert public attention to foreign affairs, undertook a series of little wars of which the most serious was that against Chile and Peru in 1866. Mendez Nuñez with one metal ship and six wooden ones bombarded the strongly fortified port of Callao, a piece of daring heroism which failed to reap its reward, for the Spanish ships were forced to retire before the terrible onslaught of the Peruvian batteries.

Six years of almost incessant disputes and disorders followed the revolution of 1868, during which no less than three forms of government were attempted.

On the departure of Isabella II from Spain the Cortes

formed a provisional government in which the executive power was to reside. Presided over by Serrano, the Duke de la Torre, it consisted of Prim, Sagasta, Ruiz Zorilla, Lopez de Ayala, Topete, the initiator of the mutiny at Cadiz, and others. There can be little doubt that the leading spirit in the government was Prim, the popular hero of the hour and one of the few politicians of the time who had some statesmanlike qualities. The government was thus formed by a coalition of Progressives and Unionists. Opposed to it were the Monarchists under Rivero, the Republicans led by Figueras, Castelar, and Pi y Margall, and the Alfonsinos who supported Isabella's son Alfonso, in whose favour she had abdicated and whose champions were led by the famous orator and statesman Canovas de Castillo.

The Cortes voted for a monarchical form of government and for a time hesitated between offering the crown to the Duke of Montpensier, Leopold of Hohenzollern, and Amadeo, Duke of Aosta, the second son of Victor Emmanuel of Italy. The choice finally fell on the Italian candidate, who was warmly supported by Prim. The new King ascended the throne in November, 1870.

It was little short of a tragedy for the new monarch that his most influential supporter, Prim, should have been assassinated in Madrid only some weeks before his own arrival in Spain.

The Duke de la Torre was entrusted with the formation of the government, and associated with him in the ministry were almost all the members of the provisional government. It was not long, however, before differences of opinion between Sagasta and Ruiz Zorilla split their party and crippled its activities.

The Carlists took advantage of the opportunity thus

offered to organise a rebellion in Catalonia and the Basque provinces, and Don Carlos VII, the grandson of the first Don Carlos, entered Spain to lead his followers.

Meanwhile the insurrection in Cuba, which had been brewing since 1836, now burst forth at Yara.

The position of the new King was thus an impossible one. Bereft of any strong political basis, deprived of all effective military support owing to the undisciplined state of the army and the demobilisation of the Artillery Corps which had been decided by the Cortes, he was utterly unable to make his sovereignty effective, and abdicated the throne in 1873. The Republic was then proclaimed by the Cortes under the presidency of Figueras, the founder of the Republican Party in Spain. But the change in government brought with it no corresponding change in the condition of the country. The Republicans were bitterly divided among themselves, and the besetting dangers which surrounded them did not suffice to draw them together. The section in favour of a federal republic provoked insurrections in different parts of Spain, notably at Cadiz and Cartagena, and incessant agitation led to constant changes of President. Thus in a little more than a year Pi y Margall, Salmerón and Castelar succeeded Figueras in the government.

The Carlists were stronger than ever. Having captured Teruel and laid siege to Bilbao, they marched on Cuenca, took possession of it and from there threatened the capital itself.

At last, in 1874, Castelar resigned, General Pavia dissolved the wrangling Cortes, and a provisional government was again formed under the Duke de la Torre.

At this juncture the Prince Alfonso, then in England at Sandhurst, issued a manifesto to Spain. General Martinez

Campos commanding the troops at Sagunta proclaimed him King, and the Cortes and the country at large gladly welcomed the accession of Alfonso XII as a return to a settled order of government.

The new King came bearing the olive branch, and he and his minister Canovas did all in their power to soothe the turmoil of the preceding years, to restore order and security and to quench the flame of party hatred and internecine warfare. The reorganisation of the army was the first reform effected so as to meet the pressing Carlist danger. A brilliant campaign in the north conducted by Martinez Campos led to the taking of the great Carlist stronghold Seo de Urgel and the collapse of the Carlist movement. In 1875 Don Carlos re-crossed the frontier for the last time.

The policy of moderation pursued by Canovas, the leader of the Liberal Conservatives, was that most calculated to conciliate the warring political factions. There were no punishments for political opinions, and in the Constitution of 1876—the sixth charter of the century—were embodied some of the measures introduced in the time of the Republic.

In addition to the republican parties led by Ruiz Zorrilla, Salmerón, and Pi y Margall, there existed in the Cortes the constitutional party led by Sagasta, and the central party which consisted chiefly of the remaining Unionists under Alonso Martinez and Posada Herrera. Canovas and the Duke de la Torre were leaders of small groups of their own.

In 1878 Alfonso married his cousin Mercedes, daughter of the Duke of Montpensier. But the young Queen died five months after her marriage, and in 1879 Alfonso married the Archduchess Maria Cristina.



MARIA CRISTINA

Meanwhile troops had been dispatched to Cuba to repress the rising there and to restore order and discipline, and in 1878 an agreement was reached at Zanjón. In the following year the Spanish government decreed the abolition of the slave trade in Cuba on the same conditions as those which had been laid down for Puerto Rico in 1872. This was one of the first measures of the new liberal government, a government formed by the fusion of the constitutional and central parties and the Moderate Republicans under the leadership of Sagasta, which included such men as Castelar and Martínez Campos.

In 1884 Spain increased her territories in Africa by occupying the basin of the river Muni in Guinea, and the peninsula of Río de Oro on the western borders of the Sahara.

Alfonso XII, after a reign of ten years, during which his energies and interests were devoted to the improvement and welfare of his kingdom, died in 1885. The following year his son, Alfonso XIII, was born. The government of the country was vested in a regency presided over by the Queen María Cristina during the minority of the young King.

The two main parties in Parliament were united on one point: the solid support of the monarchy represented at that moment by the Queen Mother on behalf of her infant son. Throughout the years of the regency, liberals and conservatives alternated in office with seemingly little reason, and Canovas and Sagasta replaced each other as prime minister according as their respective parties came into power. In 1890 Sagasta revised the Constitution of 1876 and introduced some slight reforms, but the greater part of the clauses remained intact. According to this enactment the power of making laws was vested in the

King and Cortes. The Senate consisted of hereditary members—the grandees, bishops, officers of State and a hundred Crown nominees, and elected members chosen by the Provincial Councils and the universities. The Chamber of Deputies consisted of some four hundred members elected by indirect vote on a residential manhood suffrage. There was in each province an elected Provincial Council in charge of the local government, and a District Council controlled the local taxation of each Commune.

The chief interest in the time of the regency lies in Spain's activities abroad.

In 1893 disputes over the building of a fort at Sadi Guariach in the Riff drew the attention of the government to Morocco. There was a mosque at Sadi Guariach, and the Moors regarded the construction of a fort in the vicinity as an insult to their religion. The Riffians rose and destroyed the fortifications and even threatened Melilla; a conference of international powers held at Madrid recognised the right of Spain to build forts in order to protect Melilla, and an army sallied forth to restore order. The troops under Margallo were surrounded and isolated and Margallo killed. Martinez Campos then took command of the expedition, which successfully reduced the rebellious tribes to submission and completed the building of the forts round Melilla.

The war in Cuba and the Philippines was of a more serious character, and ended less happily for Spain. The insurrection in Cuba organised by Maximo Gomez, José Martí and Antonio Maceo broke out in 1895, provoked by the failure on the part of Spain to fulfill the promises she had made in the agreement of Zanjón. The whole island was soon aflame, and Martinez Campos, sent from Spain to smother the conflagration, was unable to arrest

its advance. In 1896 he was replaced by General Weyler, who, after a considerable show of force and severity, inflicted a severe defeat on the insurgents at Punta Brava, where Antonio Maceo was killed. At this juncture the United States intervened with offers of arbitration. Mutual suspicion between the two countries was probably at the root of Spain's refusal to accept the timely offer, for Canovas himself was doubtful as to the wisdom of settling the matter by force of arms, and Pi y Margall and his followers were frankly opposed to such a policy.

In 1897 Canovas was assassinated by an anarchist, and Sagasta and the Liberals took office. General Weyler was recalled, and in his stead General Blanco was appointed, with instructions to conciliate the Cubans. At the same time a measure granting autonomy to Cuba and Puerto Rico was passed by the Cortes. Unfortunately it came too late and was regarded by all sides as a declaration of weakness. In 1898 the American battleship "Maine" was blown up in the harbour of Habana, and the United States, accusing Spain of having laid a mine, declared war on her, openly supported the Cubans against the Spaniards and fanned into life the rebellion of Aguinaldo in the Philippines which had been repressed in the preceding year by General Polavieja. At Cavite the Spanish squadron was completely destroyed by the fleet of the United States, and two months later the Spanish battleships in Santiago de Cuba were demolished. There followed the Treaty of Paris by which Spain relinquished Cuba, the Philippines and Puerto Rico to the United States, and sold to Germany all that remained of her possessions in the West Indies.

Meanwhile the work of reform continued at home. The Civil Code was published, and trial by jury intro-

duced. The standard of living was raised and the economic condition of the country tended to improve. Roads were made, railways laid down, and commerce increased considerably.

At last in 1902 the young sixteen-year-old King, of age to reign, took his oath before the Cortes to rule as a constitutional monarch. The reign of Alfonso XIII had begun.



20th Century

CHAPTER XI

Spain of Today

THE years of the reign of Alfonso XIII have been important ones for Spain. Shaking off the torpor of inanition into which she had gradually sunk during the struggles and disorders of the nineteenth century, the country has awakened to life bounded by new horizons which offer new fields of activity and achievement. The Conservatives under their leaders, Maura and Dato, alternate in office with the Liberals under Moret Romanones and other leaders. An abortive attempt at a socialist revolution in 1918 resulted in the deportation of the instigators of the movement and the immediate re-establishment of order. Eventually these leaders were pardoned and took their seats in the Cortes as the constitutional representatives of their party.

In 1923 a *coup d'état* took place, and the King accepted General Primo de Rivera as the head of a military Directory. Martial law was proclaimed, the Constitution was suspended, the provincial councils with the exception of those for the Basque Provinces were dissolved and the new government set about a thorough reform of administration and finance. A policy of administrative decentralisation was embarked upon which found pronounced expression in the Municipal Statute of 1924 and the Provincial Statute of 1925, introducing a system of local government similar to that in force in many parts of the United States. Provinces and municipalities were granted practically autonomous powers within their own

boundaries, limited only by compliance with the law of the land. The suffrage was extended, and women were given the right to vote and to sit in councils.

In 1925 a council of ministers, which included civil servants under the presidency of Primo de Rivera, replaced the military cabinet, and martial law was abolished. A National Consultative Assembly representing the country at large was summoned, and first met in 1927. Its function is to reflect public opinion and to provide the government with a source of information.

One of the most pressing problems of the reign has been the Catalan question. The four provinces of Catalonia are the home of an industrious, practical, tenacious people whose origin and history, as we have seen, have been somewhat different from those of the other provinces of Spain. Their capital, Barcelona, is the most important town in the whole of the Mediterranean district and carries on a busy trade fed by the output of the factories which forms the staple source of wealth of Catalonia. Material prosperity and intellectual development advanced on parallel lines during the last half century, and the study of the Catalan language and of Catalan literature awakened a race consciousness which in the political sphere tended to form separatist tendencies. In 1913 the Conservative minister Dato attempted to provide constitutional scope for the development of these tendencies in the creation of the *Mancomunidad de Cataluña*, which was entrusted with the management of certain public services and the collection of certain revenues. Ten years later the Directory abolished the *Mancomunidad*, replacing it in the following years by the same system of local government drawn up for the rest of Spain. This system, which provided a large measure of independence in the

choice of the form of government and of the economic policy of each province, may allow for the realisation of the aspirations of the Catalonians. Meanwhile it is significant that as separatist tendencies become more pronounced, Barcelona is gradually being linked more and more to the rest of Spain by the bonds of commerce and finance, which, with the development of the country at large, become stronger every year.

The King throughout all the vicissitudes of his reign has kept the good of his country in view. The prestige, prosperity and development of Spain have been at all times his first consideration, and mindful of the exhaustion into which the disorders and unrest of the last century had plunged her, he has invariably played the part of peacemaker, recommending moderation and compromise, appeasing, tranquillising and tempering the shock of clashing aspirations. It has been no easy task to steer the ship of State among the rocks and shoals, the eddies and whirlpools which have beset her course, and it has needed all the prudence and statecraft, the patience and diplomacy of a patriot King to keep the vessel making headway in such perilous seas.

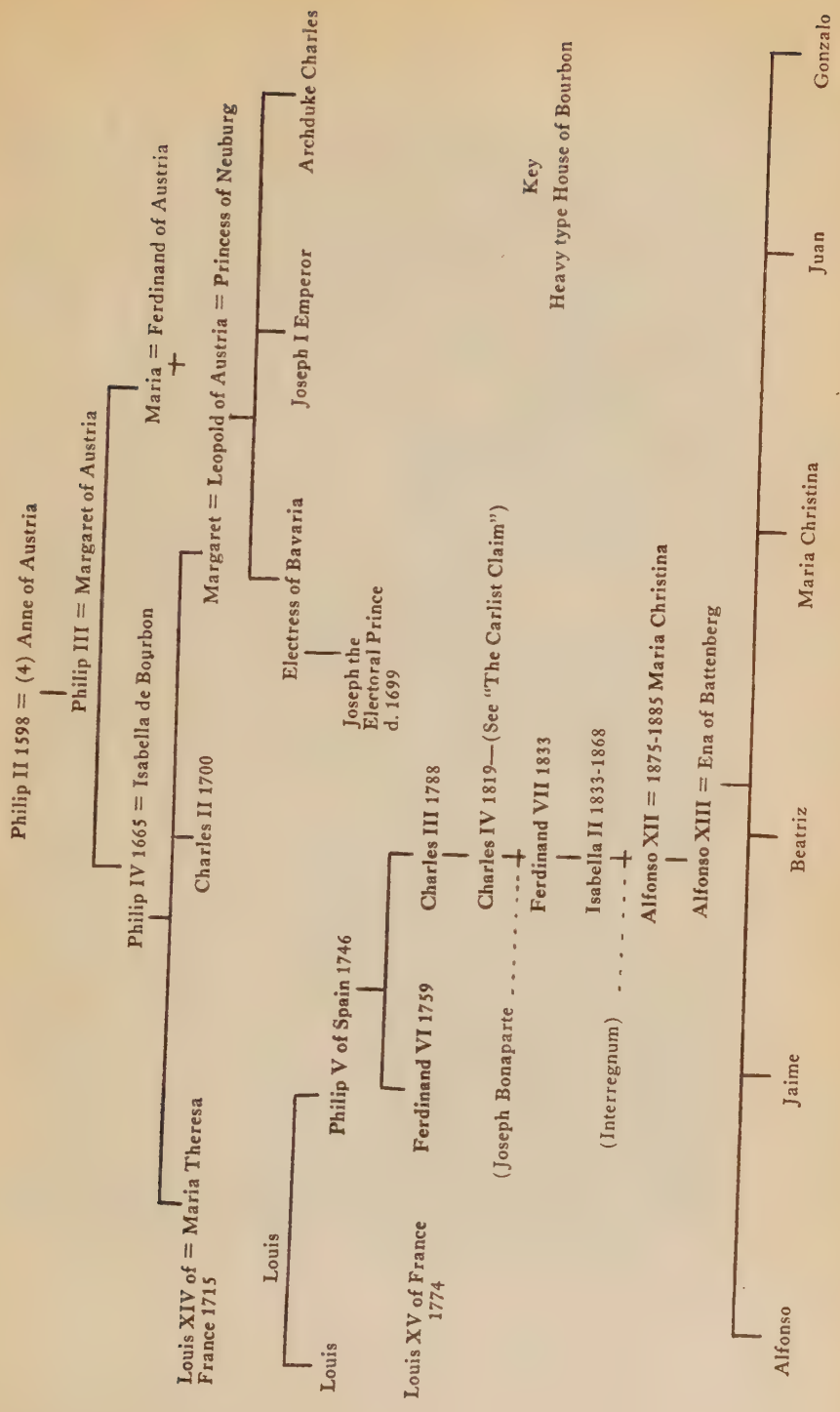
The same characteristics of peace and moderation which have informed the management of home affairs during the reign of Alfonso XIII have also coloured foreign policy. Married to an English Princess, Ena of Battenberg, the King at an interview in 1907 with Edward VII came to a friendly agreement with England, and commercial treaties were later concluded with France and Italy.

During the World War Spain preserved her neutrality in the interests of peace, and at the conclusion of the struggle she actively associated herself with all efforts to achieve that ideal, becoming one of the original members

of the League of Nations. Her policy of rapprochement with her former colonies in South America, although Imperialist in character, has been conceived with peaceful intentions. An increase of friendly feeling, the development of trade, the improvement of communications leading to mutual help and mutual affection are the results sought.

Morocco alone has been the scene of military activity. The outcome of the intervention of the Kaiser at Tangier in 1905 was the Conference of Algeciras, to which all the European powers and Morocco sent representatives. The sovereignty of the Sultan was recognized and a form of European policing was set up in Morocco, the French and Spanish agreeing to co-operate in Tangiers, the French to act alone round Rabat, and the Spanish alone in Tetuan and Larache. This system was in force when the Riffians descended from their mountain fastnesses in 1909 and attacked and killed the engineers and men working on the railway which Spain was building to link up the mines of Uixan with Melilla. War followed, resulting in the temporary pacification of that strip of arid mountainous land inhabited largely by hostile tribes, brigands and sharpshooters which had been apportioned to Spain for subjugation. In 1912 an agreement with France changed the boundaries between the respective zones of the two countries, and the international zone of Tangiers was created. During the succeeding years the tribes under their chief, Raisuli, were friendly to Spain, and the troops were unmolested in the work of fortifying Larache, Tetuan and other places. Later the struggle with Raisuli broke out again in a desultory way, and ceased during the war. In 1921 fighting was resumed, for the Riffians attacked the Spaniards, who, under General Silvestre, were

RULERS OF SPAIN 1600 TO 1930



making a dash through unfortified country for the peninsula of Alhucemas. They cut the army to pieces, and advancing seized several forts and massacred the garrisons, including women and children. Abd-el-Krim, the leader of the wild Riff tribes, took Raisuli prisoner and offered to make peace with Spain on extravagant terms. In 1924 General Primo de Rivera took command in Morocco. He withdrew all troops from outlying forts, formed a new line near the coast, agreed with France upon the joint action of the two countries and then carried out a brilliant manœuvre in August, 1925, landing his troops at Alhucemas. This was followed by the break-up of the Riffian resistance in 1926. Abd-el-Krim surrendered and the tribes returned to their homes.

The High Commissioner in Morocco now rules in consort with the Sultan, while Spanish officials assist the local authorities, the cadis and pashas, in the performance of their duties. The finances of the region have been reorganised, special laws drawn up for the zone, schools and hospitals built in the various towns, and considerable progress made in the fight to combat malaria. Roads and railways are being constructed all over the region, steamers ply daily between Algeciras and Ceuta, and an air line has been established between Seville and Larache.

Meanwhile signs of Spain's awakening and growth multiply with the years. The size and magnificence of the Bank of Spain which was built in the first years of the reign of Alfonso XIII is indicative of the breadth and splendour of the ideas of those who guide the destinies of the country. But a few years later, in 1918, the biggest gold reserve in Europe lay deposited within these precincts. The war aroused the country to consciousness of the benefits of industry. Money was made not only by supplying com-

modities to other countries, but by furnishing home markets cut off from foreign stocks. With the resultant wealth came a rise in the standard of living and the realisation of the resources ready to be tapped in order to satisfy the ever growing demand.

The increase of travelling in Spain is being met by the rapid construction of railways by the government, to cover the cost of which a loan has been floated. Roads are being built all over the country, and motor omnibuses, replacing the mule-drawn diligences, are linking up towns and villages, bringing beautiful scenery and historical monuments within the range of the ordinary tourist as well as providing for the agricultural requirements of vast districts which were formerly isolated. A new and efficient system of road administration has been established for the upkeep of the highways, and motor traffic is increasing by leaps and bounds. Aviation engages the attention of both government and nation. One of the principal inventions in aeronautics in recent times, the autogiro, is the work of a Spanish engineer, La Cierva. The achievements of Spanish aviators, such as Commander Franco who flew from Seville to Buenos Aires in 1926 and Captain Loriga who flew from Spain to Manila a few months later, have fired the popular imagination. Air lines run from Madrid to Seville, to Lisbon and to Barcelona, and the project of establishing an air line from Seville to Buenos Aires is on the way to realisation. Workshops for the construction of aeroplanes have been set up in different parts of the country, and it is now possible to turn out annually two hundred planes in the civil workshops and one hundred in the military establishments.

The development of agriculture has been promoted by the construction of vast irrigation systems like that of the

Levante, which was inaugurated by the King in 1925, and by which the national wealth has been increased to the value of some twelve million pesetas. The harnessing of water power in the hydro-electric stations set up on various waterways, notably in the Pyrenees, has produced a rich yield from the land. In dry regions the crops have been increased by the application of a system of sowing in narrow lines separated by wide strips which are regularly hoed so that the resultant layer of loose soil may counteract evaporation.

The production of the staple products of the country is fostered by the use of new implements and devices. Wine, olives, oil, and fruit are all important sources of wealth, and Spain supplies cork to every market in the world, the United States being the largest consumer. Attempts have been made lately to grow cotton, and some success has been achieved in the production of the medium staple variety from Texan seed in the district near the Guadalquivir. The production of silk is actively promoted, and the King has planted numbers of mulberry trees on his estates for the feeding of silkworms in order to encourage the industry.

Spain has always been a country of metals, and its mines are worked extensively in the north where the port of Bilbao is the centre of the largest iron and steel trade in the world. Mercury and potash as well as lead and silver are marketed in the south of Spain.

The question of education is receiving the attention of the government. Education is carried on by the religious teaching orders and by state schools. The schools of the religious orders are spread all over the country and are for the most part well equipped. Some of them are very old foundations, as for instance the College of Noble

Ladies in Toledo, where yearly a hundred girls of noble birth are educated and provided with a dowry on their marriage. There are two Catholic Law Faculties, one at the Augustinian College at the Escorial, the other at the Jesuit University at Deusto. The Jesuits also have an Institute of Arts and Crafts at Madrid where over two hundred boys are taught mechanical and electrical engineering, and the Salesian fathers at Barcelona have excellent technical schools. The government schools have been hampered by lack of funds and scarcity of teachers. In 1876 Giner de los Rios founded the Institución de Libre Enseñanza to introduce a system of education on modern and non-sectarian lines. Since 1903 the government has introduced reforms, sending students abroad to study the methods practised in foreign universities and schools. The Residencia de Estudiantes was instituted in Madrid for the accommodation of students following courses at the university or completing other studies. Scientific laboratories were opened, where the research work of Spanish scientists won for them an international reputation, endorsed by the financial support given to certain branches of Spanish science by the Rockefeller International Education Board. This whole series of reforms is now to culminate in the creation of a University City on the outskirts of Madrid. The vast enterprise was initiated by the King on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his majority. In the Ciudad Universitaria all the faculties, including Law, Commerce, Arts, and Medicine, will be assembled. A hospital to accommodate fifteen hundred will be attached to the Medical School. There will be a library, laboratories, lecture hall, as well as students' residences with university clubs and athletic fields. This magnificent undertaking is the first of its kind in Europe, and

will express the finest ideas and methods, for the study of which a commission has been sent by the government to visit the principal universities of Europe and the United States.

As one contemplates the Spain of today, one cannot but marvel at the succession of violent and sudden transformations which the country presents: electric light taking the place of the oil wick dating from Roman times, motor lorries carrying the loads which but a few days previously were borne by donkeys, the automatic telephone replacing a tardy, spasmodic post; aeroplanes travelling over districts which have known neither trains nor motors, tractors ousting the mules and oxen from their plodding work in the fields, the highest buildings in Europe soaring on the site of ramshackle eighteenth-century houses, boys playing at football instead of at bull-baiting, girls leaving the sampler for the ski. Such is 1930 Spain. Truly one can but murmur the dictum of Parnell: "No man has a right to fix the boundary to the march of a nation."

Chronological List of Events

- B.C. The invasion of the Iberians.
 The invasion of the Celts.
- 6th century: Phœnician trading centres in South of Spain
 become independent.
 The Carthaginians land in Spain.
 The Greeks make landings on the East coast.
- 236 Hamilcar lands in Spain and subdues the Peninsula.
 219 Hannibal besieges Saguntum.
 218 War declared against Rome.
 206 Scipio Africanus lands and captures Cartagena.
 Termination of the Carthaginian domination.
- 152 Rising of the Lusitanian tribes against Rome.
 132 The fall of Numancia.
 80 The Roman general Sertorius sets up an independent
 government in Spain.
 71 Pompey defeats Sertorius and Spain returns to the
 rule of Rome.
 49 Civil war between Pompey and Cæsar in which Spain
 supports Pompey.
 25 Augustus defeats the Cantabrians, thus completing
 the Roman conquest of Spain.
 4 Birth of Lucius Seneca.
- A.D.
 35 Birth of Quintilian.
 39 Birth of Lucan.
 42 Birth of Martial.
 98 Trajan becomes Emperor of Rome.
 117 Hadrian succeeds Trajan as Emperor.
 161 Marcus Aurelius becomes Emperor.
 301 Council of Illiberis.
 312 Constantine becomes Emperor.
 330 Juvenius writes a History of the Church.
 348 Prudentius is born in Saragossa.
 409 The first invasion of Suevi, Vandals and Alans.
 410 The Goths under Alaric sack Rome.
 414 The Visigoths invade Spain under Ataulfo and cap-
 ture Barcelona.
 419 Theodoric becomes King of the Visigoths.

- 429 The Vandals leave Andalusia to establish themselves in North Africa.
- 451 Theodoric defeats Attila the Hun at the battle of Châlons-sur-Marne.
- 468 Eurico subdues Lusitania, taking the towns of Merida, Lisbon and Coimbra.
- 586 Recaredo becomes King.
- 587 Recaredo abjures the Arian heresy and becomes a Catholic.
- 607 Birth of San Ildefonso.
- 612 Sisebuto is elected King, and makes war on the Byzantines.
- 621 Suintila becomes King and forces the Byzantines to retire from Spain.
- 641 Chindasvinto becomes King.
- 652 Recesvinto is elected to succeed his father on the throne.
The Fuero Juzgo is drawn up.
- 672 Wamba succeeds Recesvinto.
Rebellion of the Basques.
- 710 Rodrigo elected King to succeed Witiza.
Rebellion of the sons of Witiza who seek help from Mauretania.
- 711 Landing of Tarik and taking of Gibraltar.
Defeat of Rodrigo at the battle of Lake Ganda.
Tarik captures Toledo.
- 712 Rodrigo is besieged in Merida by Tarik and Miza and the town falls.
- 475 The collapse of the Western Empire.
- 484 Alaric is elected to succeed Eurico.
- 496 Clovis, King of the Franks, becomes a Christian and declares war on Alaric.
- 507 Geraleico becomes King and is aided by the Ostrogoths against the Franks.
- 549 Agila is elected King.
- 554 The Byzantines land in Andalusia to support the Hispano-Roman nobles in their resistance to Agila.
Atanagildo recognises the right of the Byzantines to settle in the South.
War declared to resist the advance of the Byzantines.
- 570 Birth of San Isidoro.
- 573 Liuvigildo becomes King and makes war on the Suevi in the Northwest.

242 SPAIN—ITS STORY BRIEFLY TOLD

- 581 Liuvigildo defeats the Basques.
Civil war breaks out between Liuvigildo and his son Hermevegildo.
- 583 Liuvigildo takes Seville.
Hermevegildo is captured and put to death.
- 585 The Suevi are finally subdued and their territory converted into a province of the Gothic realm.
- 713 Rodrigo is defeated and killed at the battle of Segojuela and the rule of the Caliph of Damascus is proclaimed at Toledo.
- 718 Victory of Pelayo at Covadonga.
- 732 Emir Abderrahman defeated at Poitiers by Charles Martel.
- 740 Alfonso I of Asturias extends his kingdom to the Douro.
- 757 Truela I succeeds Alfonso and founds Oviedo.
- 758 An independent caliphate is set up at Cordoba under Abderrahman I.
- 778 Charlemagne defeated at Roncesvalles.
- 791 Alfonso II King of Asturias.
- 812 The Franks organise the Marca Hispanica.
The discovery of the tomb of Saint James the Apostle.
- 822 Abderrahman II is obliged to beat off the attacks of the Normans.
- 850 Ordoño I drives back the Normans from the coast of Galicia.
- 852 Mohammed I succeeds his father Abderrahman II.
- 866 Accession of Alfonso III who extends the Christian territories south of the Douro.
- 874 Count Wilfred becomes the independent ruler of Barcelona.
- 884 Omar ben Hafsun rebels against Mohammed I and establishes an independent state at Bobastro.
- 912 Abderrahman III begins to reign and assumes the title of Caliph.
- 917 Abderrahman wins back Bobastro at the death of Omar.
- 920 Ordoño defeated by Abderrahman at Valdejunquera.
- 923 The independence of Fernán Gonzalea Count of Castile recognised by the King of León.
- 930 Ramiro II becomes King of León.
- 956 Sancho of León seeks help from Abderrahman against his discontented subjects.

- 961 Al-Hakim II becomes Caliph.
- 967 Ramiro III defeated at Rueda by Almanzor.
Fall of Zamora.
- 976 Hixem II succeeds Al-Hakim.
- 982 Bermudo II becomes King of León.
- 999 Alfonso V regains León.
Sancho III becomes King of Navarre.
- 1002 Death of Almanzor at the battle of Calatañazor.
- 1028 Bermudo III succeeds his father as King of León.
- 1031 Hixem III loses his throne and the Caliphate breaks
up into separate States.
- 1037 Ferdinand Count of Castile takes the title of King.
Bermudo III is defeated and killed at the battle of
Tamaron.
Ferdinand becomes King of León.
- 1031 The Moorish state breaks up into the kingdoms of
Taifas.
- 1035 Ramiro, son of Sancho of Navarre, becomes the first
King of Aragon.
- 1037 Ferdinand I becomes King of Castile and León.
- 1050 Ferdinand I of Castile confirms the laws of his king-
dom at the Council of Coyanza.
- 1054 Victory of Ferdinand over his brother Garcia of Na-
varre at the battle of Atapuerca.
- 1063 Sancho Ramirez becomes King of Aragon.
- 1065 Death of Ferdinand I and division of his kingdom
among his sons.
- 1069 Motamid reigns in Seville.
- 1071 The Roman ritual replaces the Mozarabic in Aragon.
- 1072 Alfonso VI becomes King of Castile and León.
- 1076 The kingdom of Navarre is incorporated with that of
Aragon.
- 1078 The Mozarabic rite is abolished throughout Castile.
- 1085 Alfonso VI takes Toledo.
- 1086 The Almoravides invade Spain and defeat Alfonso VI
at the battle of Zalaca.
- 1094 The Cid takes possession of Valencia.
Peter I becomes King of Aragon.
- 1096 Peter I of Aragon captures Huesca.
- 1102 Valencia is returned to the Moors.
- 1104 Alfonso I succeeds his father as King of Aragon.
- 1108 The Moors defeat the Christians at Ucles.

244 SPAIN—ITS STORY BRIEFLY TOLD

- 1109 Urraca succeeds her father Alfonso VI as ruler of Castile and Aragon.
- 1110 War with Aragon arising from domestic quarrels between Urraca of Castile and Alfonso of Aragon.
- 1118 Alfonso I of Aragon captures Saragossa.
- 1126 Alfonso VII becomes King of Castile.
Alfonso I of Aragon defeats the Moors at Arinsol.
- 1134 Aragon and Navarre recognise the overlordship of Castile.
Ramiro I becomes King of Aragon.
- 1135 Alfonso VII of Castile is crowned Emperor of Spain.
- 1137 Ramiro II of Aragon abdicates the throne in favour of his daughter Petronila.
- 1143 Alfonso VII of Castile recognises Alfonso Enriquez of Portugal as an independent sovereign.
- 1147 The Almohades invade Spain.
- 1157 Alfonso VII of Castile takes Almeria.
Death of Alfonso VII leaving Castile to Sancho III, León to Ferdinand II.
- 1158 Foundation of the Military Order of Calatrava in Castile.
Alfonso VIII becomes King of Castile.
- 1160 Foundation of Military Order of Santiago in León.
- 1162 Alfonso II becomes King of Aragon incorporating Barcelona with Aragon.
- 1168 Alfonso II of Aragon inherits Provence.
- 1172 The state of Roussillon is added to the realms of Aragon.
- 1177 Alfonso VIII of Castile with the help of Alfonso II of Aragon captures Cuenca.
- 1188 The first meeting of Cortes summoned by Alfonso IX of León.
- 1195 The Almohades defeat Alfonso VIII of Castile at Alarcos.
- 1196 Peter II becomes King of Aragon.
- 1200 The province of Guipúzcoa adheres to Castile.
- 1212 Defeat of the Almohades at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa.
- 1213 James I becomes King of Aragon.
- 1215 Alfonso IX of León founds the University of Salamanca.
- 1217 Alfonso IX of León founds the Military Order of Alcantara.

- Ferdinand III succeeds his grandfather Alfonso VIII as King of Castile.
- 1229 Conquest of the Balearic Isles by James I of Aragon.
- 1230 Ferdinand III of Castile succeeds his father Alfonso IX of León, and reunites the crowns of Castile and León.
- 1236 Ferdinand III of Castile makes war on the King of Granada and the Benimerines and takes Cordoba.
- 1238 James I of Aragon conquers Valencia.
- 1246 Ferdinand III of Castile takes Jaen. His son Alfonso conquers Murcia.
- 1248 Ferdinand III of Castile conquers Seville.
- 1252 Alfonso X becomes King of Castile.
- 1257 Alfonso X of Castile is a candidate at the Imperial Election.
- 1264 Alfonso X of Castile takes Jerez, Cadiz and Niebla.
- 1272 Death of Ferdinand de la Cerda.
- 1276 Peter III becomes King of Aragon.
- 1281 Civil war in Castile—Alfonso takes refuge in Seville.
- 1282 Peter III of Aragon conquers Sicily.
- 1283 Probable date of birth of Juan Ruiz.
- 1284 Accession of Sancho IV of Castile.
- 1285 Alfonso III becomes King of Aragon.
- 1286 Alfonso III unites Majorca to the Crown of Aragon.
- 1287 Alfonso III concludes the treaty of Tarascon with France, and the Papacy; and signs the pact with the nobles known as the Privilege of the Union.
- 1291 James II becomes King of Aragon.
Treaty of Agnani between Aragon, France and the Papacy.
- 1295 Sicily was to be relinquished in return for Papal support in the conquest of Corsica and Sardinia.
Ferdinand IV becomes King of Castile.
- 1302 Don Fadrique, son of James I of Aragon, is finally recognised as King of Sicily.
- 1303 Roger de Flor leads an expedition to the support of the Byzantine Emperor against the Turks.
- 1309 Ferdinand IV of Castile captures Gibraltar.
- 1312 Alfonso XI becomes King of Castile.
- 1324 Sardinia and Corsica are wrested from Pisa by Aragon.
- 1326 Manfred, son of King Fadrique of Sicily, becomes the Governor of Athens.

246 SPAIN—ITS STORY BRIEFLY TOLD

- 1327 Alfonso IV becomes King of Aragon.
- 1330 Invasion of the Benimerines, who take Gibraltar.
- 1332 The province of Alava adheres to Castile.
- 1335 Peter IV succeeds his father as King of Aragon.
- 1340 Alfonso XI of Castile defeats the Benimerines at the battle of Salado, capturing Gibraltar and Algeciras.
- 1348 Civil war in Aragon ended by victory of Peter IV at Epila and the revocation of the Privilege of the Union.
- 1350 Peter I becomes King of Castile.
- 1354 The Trastamaras rebel against Peter I of Castile.
- 1366 Henry of Trastamara lays claim to the Crown of Castile and is supported by Aragon and France.
- 1367 Peter I of Castile allies himself with the Black Prince and wins a victory at Najera.
- 1369 Peter is defeated and killed at Montiel by Henry of Trastamara. Henry becomes King of Castile as Henry II.
- 1379 John I succeeds his father as King of Castile.
- 1381 The Duchy of Athens places itself directly under the protection of the Crown of Aragon.
- 1383 John I of Castile marries Beatrice, heiress to the throne of Portugal.
- 1385 John I of Castile lays claim to Portugal, but is driven back by the Portuguese.
- 1387 John I of Aragon succeeds to the Crown.
- 1388 Aragon loses the Duchy of Athens.
Henry, son of John I of Castile, marries Catherine of Lancaster and receives the title of Prince of the Asturias.
- 1390 Henry III succeeds John I as King of Castile.
- 1395 Martín I, King of Sicily, becomes King of Aragon thus uniting the crowns of Sicily and Aragon.
- 1398 The Marquis de Santillana is born.
- 1402 Henry III of Castile protects the brothers Bethencourt in their expedition to the Canary Isles.
- 1406 John II succeeds Henry on the throne of Castile.
- 1410 Martín I of Aragon dies without heirs.
- 1411 Juan de Mera is born.
- 1412 The Assembly of Caspe elects Ferdinand of Castile King of Aragon.
- 1413 Álvaro de Luna becomes Constable of Castile.
- 1416 Alfonso V becomes King of Aragon.

- 1435 Alfonso V of Aragon defeated at the naval battle of Ponza.
- 1440 Birth of Jorge Manrique.
- 1443 Alfonso V of Aragon recognised King of Naples.
- 1445 Victory of John II of Castile over the rebellious nobles at Olmedo.
- 1453 Álvaro de Luna executed at Valladolid.
- 1454 Henry IV succeeds John II on the throne of Castile.
- 1458 John II, King of Navarre, succeeds his father Alfonso as King of Aragon.
- 1465 Nobles of Castile formed a league and proclaimed Henry's half-brother Alfonso, King.
- 1467 Defeat of the League of Nobles at Olmedo; Alfonso dies.
- 1468 At Toros de Guisando Henry IV of Castile recognises his half-sister Isabella as the successor to his throne.
- 1469 Isabella of Castile marries Ferdinand, eldest son of John II of Aragon.
- 1470 Henry IV of Castile revokes the agreement of Toros de Guisando and declares the Princess Joan to be his successor.
- 1474 Accession of Isabella to the throne of Castile on the death of Henry IV.
Isabella I proclaimed Queen of Castile.
- 1475 Ferdinand succeeds to the throne of Aragon.
- 1476 Battle of Toro; victory of Isabella over Joan the Pretender.
- 1479 Ferdinand succeeds his father as King of Aragon.
Peace of Alcantara between Isabella and Joan.
- 1480 The Inquisition is set up in Castile under Torquemada.
Birth of Berruguete.
- 1482 War declared on Muley Hassan, King of Granada, over a question of tribute.
- 1483 The Inquisition, in spite of popular opposition, is established in Aragon.
Alhama taken from the Moors by Ponce de León.
- 1484 Boabdil seizes the throne of Granada from his father, Muley Hassan.
- 1492 Conquest of Granada.
October 12th, discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.

248 SPAIN—ITS STORY BRIEFLY TOLD

- Decree for the expulsion of the Jews promulgated.
- 1493 Sardinia and Roussillon returned to Spain by Charles VIII of France.
- 1494 Conquest of the Canary Isles by Fernandez de Lugo. Charles VIII of France seizes the throne of Naples from Fernando II, brother-in-law to the King of Spain.
- 1495 Gonzalo de Cordoba leads a Spanish army to the relief of Naples and drives the French from the kingdom.
- Birth of Juan Boscán.
- The organization of the Santa Hermandad is completed.
- 1497 Estopiñan captures Melilla from the Moors.
- 1500 Agreement for partition of Naples between Ferdinand of Spain and Louis XII of France drawn up.
- 1502 Hostilities break out between Spain and France over a boundary dispute.
- 1503 Victory of Gonzalo de Cordoba over the French at Cerignola.
- Birth of Garcilaso de la Vega.
- 1504 Victory of Gonzalo de Cordoba over the French at Garellano. Retirement of the French army.
- Death of Isabella I the Catholic in Medina del Campo. Buried in Granada.
- Succession of her daughter, Joan the Mad, to the throne of Castile.
- 1505 Ferdinand the Catholic marries Germaine de Foix, niece of Louis XII of France.
- 1506 Publication of the new code of laws known as the Laws of Toro.
- Death of Philip the Handsome.
- 1507 Joan is pronounced unfit to reign, and Ferdinand is called to act as regent in Castile.
- 1508 Expedition organized by Cardinal Cisneros captures Orán, Bujía, Tripoli.
- Ferdinand joins the League of Cambrai against Venice.
- 1509 Second expedition organized by Cardinal Cisneros is dispersed in an attempted attack on the island of Gelves.
- Victory over the Venetians at Agnadello.
- Birth of Morales.

- Foundation of the University of Alcalá.
- 1511 Ferdinand joins the Holy League against France and drives the French from North Italy.
- 1512 Annexation of Navarre to Castile.
Ponce de León conquers Puerto Rico.
- 1515 Vasco Nuñez de Balboa discovers the Pacific Ocean.
- 1516 Death of Ferdinand.
Succession of his grandson Charles to the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile.
Regency of Cardinal Cisneros.
- 1517 Arrival of Charles I in Spain.
Publication of the Polyglot Bible.
Death of Cardinal Cisneros.
- 1519 Magellan sets out from Seville to discover a passage from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean.
Birth of Antonio Moro.
- 1520 The Cortes meets at Santiago and Corunna to vote the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the Imperial Election. Cardinal Adrian is named regent during the absence of Charles.
Insurrection of the Comunidades.
Conquest of Mexico by Hernán Cortés.
- 1521 Defeat of the Comuneros at Villalar.
Outbreak of war with France.
The French invade Navarre.
- 1522 Sebastian Elcano completes the first voyage round the world.
- 1525 Defeat of French at Pavia when Francis I is taken prisoner.
- 1526 Peace signed with France.
- 1527 War declared by the League of Cognac on Charles.
Rome taken by the Imperial forces.
- 1528 Birth of Fray Luis de León.
- 1529 Treaty of Cambrai signed between France and Spain.
Charles is crowned Emperor by the Pope.
- 1530 The Parliament of Augsburg meets.
- 1535 The capture of Tunis from the Moors.
Pizarro invades Peru.
Outbreak of war with France.
- 1536 Conquest of Chile begun by Almagro.
- 1537 Colombia annexed to Spain by Quesada.
- 1538 Treaty of Nice between France and Spain.
- 1541 Spanish fleet perishes in attack on Argel.

250 SPAIN—ITS STORY BRIEFLY TOLD

- Outbreak of war with France.
- Pizarro conquers Peru.
- 1543 Philip, Charles' eldest son, marries Maria of Portugal.
- 1544 Treaty of Crespy signed with France.
- 1545 War declared with the Protestant princes of Germany.
- 1547 Charles defeats the Protestant powers at the battle of Mühlberg.
- Birth of Cervantes. Birth of El Greco.
- 1551 Outbreak of war with France.
- 1554 Charles forced to raise the siege of Metz.
- 1555 Peace of Passau signed between Charles and the German Princes.
- Charles invests his son Philip with the government of the Netherlands.
- Death of Joan the Mad.
- 1556 Peace of Vaucelles between Charles and France.
- Charles abdicates the throne of Spain in favour of his son Philip.
- War declared against France.
- 1557 The Spaniards take San Quintin.
- The French take Calais.
- 1558 Victory of the Spanish troops under the Duke of Savoy over the French at Gravelines.
- Death of Mary Tudor.
- 1559 Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis signed with France.
- Philip II marries Isabelle of Valois.
- 1560 Expedition against the Berbers results in the capture of the island of Gelves.
- 1561 Birth of Góngora.
- 1562 Birth of Lope de Vega.
- 1564 Capture of the Peñon de la Gomera from the Berbers.
- 1567 Insurrection in the Netherlands.
- The Duke of Alba lands in Flanders with 10,000 Spanish troops.
- 1568 Victory of the Dutch rebels over the Spanish.
- Legazpi conquers the Philippines.
- Expulsion of the Moriscos.
- 1571 Victory over the Turks at Lepanto.
- 1576 Don Juan of Austria becomes Governor of the Netherlands.

- 1579 The Dutch provinces declare themselves independent at Utrecht.
Alexander Farnese becomes Governor of the Netherlands.
- 1580 Annexation of Portugal to Spain.
- 1588 Failure of the expedition of the Invincible Armada.
- 1591 Popular rising in Aragon.
- 1597 Philip cedes the Netherlands to Albert of Austria and his daughter Isabel Clara Eugenia.
- 1598 Death of Philip II and accession of Philip III.
Birth of Zurbarán.
- 1599 Birth of Velázquez.
- 1600 Birth of Calderón de la Barca.
- 1601 Birth of Alonso Cano.
- 1602 Spinola takes Ostend from the Dutch.
- 1604 The fleet sent to attack the English coast dispersed by storms.
Peace signed with England.
- 1608 Birth of Murillo.
- 1609 The expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain.
- 1615 Peace sealed with France by the marriage of Louis XIII to the Infanta Ana
- 1618 The Thirty Years' War breaks out.
- 1621 The Duke of Lerma falls from power and is replaced by his son the Duke of Uceda.
Death of Philip III and accession of Philip IV.
- 1625 Victory over the Dutch at Nordlinga.
The surrender of Breda to Ambrose Spínola.
- 1631 A rising takes place in Biscay.
- 1640 Rebellion in Catalonia.
Rising in Portugal.
- 1641 Discovery of a conspiracy in Andalusia.
- 1643 Defeat of the Spanish arms at Rocroy by the French under Condé.
Fall of Olivares, who is succeeded by Don Luis de Haro.
- 1644 Order restored in Catalonia.
- 1648 The treaty of Munster in which the independence of Holland is formally recognised by Spain.
- 1657 The English take Jamaica.
- 1659 Victory of the Portuguese at Elvas.
The Treaty of the Pyrenees. Spain loses Roussillon and Sardinia to France.

252 SPAIN—ITS STORY BRIEFLY TOLD

- 1665 Victory of the Portuguese at Villaviciosa.
Death of Philip IV and accession of Charles II.
Spain governed by a regency under Queen Mariana.
- 1668 Spain formally recognises the independence of Portugal.
- 1669 Nithard replaced by Valenzuela in the Council of Regency.
War with France.
- 1673 Spain conquers Alhucemas.
- 1675 Charles II comes of age and assumes the reins of government.
- 1677 Don Juan of Austria replaces Valenzuela.
- 1678 Peace of Nimwegen by which Franche Comté is ceded to France.
- 1679 Charles II marries Marie Louise of Orléans.
Death of Don Juan of Austria.
Renewal of war with France.
- 1686 League of Augsburg formed by Spain, Austria, Sweden and the German principalities against France.
- 1689 Charles II marries Mariana of Neuburg.
- 1691 Barcelona taken by the French.
- 1697 Treaty of Ryswick.
- 1700 Death of Charles II, who names Philip of Anjou heir to his dominions.
- 1701 Philip V takes possession of the Spanish throne.
- 1702 Austria, England and Holland espouse the claim of the Archduke Charles to the throne of Spain and declare war on France.
- 1704 Portugal joins the allies.
Admiral Rooke captures Gibraltar.
- 1705 The rising in Catalonia breaks out at Vich.
- 1707 Victory of the Duke of Berwick at Almansa.
- 1710 The Archduke wins the battle of Almenara and enters Madrid.
Philip defeats the Archduke at Villaviciosa and Brihuega.
- 1711 Archduke Charles succeeds to the Imperial throne.
- 1713 The Peace of Utrecht.
Philip to rule Spain and Spanish colonies and to renounce his title to the French throne.
Gibraltar and Minorca ceded to England.
- 1714 Treaty of Rastatt.
Flanders, Luxemburg, Sardinia and Spanish posses-

- sions in Italy handed over to Austria.
 Philip marries Isabella Farnese.
- 1715 Foundation of the Spanish Academy.
- 1717 The Spanish fleet captures Sardinia.
- 1718 The Quadruple Alliance between England, Holland, Austria and France declares war on Spain.
- 1720 Treaty of the Hague.
- 1724 Philip V abdicates in favour of his son Luis.
 Luis I dies.
 Philip V returns to the throne.
- 1729 Treaty of Seville between France and Spain.
- 1731 Birth of Ramón de la Cruz.
- 1733 The Family Compact cements the Franco-Spanish alliance.
 The Infante Charles proclaimed King in Naples and Sicily.
- 1735 Peace of Vienna. Austria relinquishes the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to Spain and receives back the Duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Tuscany.
- 1737 Birth of Moratín.
- 1739 War breaks out with England.
- 1740 Spain joins France in the war of the Austrian Succession.
- 1746 Ferdinand VI becomes King.
 Birth of Goya.
- 1748 The Peace of Aix la Chapelle.
- 1757 Foundation of the Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando.
- 1759 Charles III succeeds his half-brother on the throne.
- 1760 Birth of Leandro Moratín.
- 1762 The Second Family Compact draws Spain into the Seven Years' War on the side of France.
- 1763 The Peace of Paris.
 England returns Habana in exchange for Florida.
 France cedes Louisiana to Spain.
- 1766 Rising in Madrid against Esquilache.
- 1767 The Jesuits expelled from Spain.
- 1779 Spain supports the American colonies against England.
- 1780 Gibraltar besieged but relieved by an English fleet.
- 1782 Spain captures Minorca and reconquers Florida.
- 1783 The Peace of Versailles. Spain retains Minorca and Florida.

254 SPAIN—ITS STORY BRIEFLY TOLD

- 1787 Birth of Martinez de la Rosa.
- 1788 Charles IV becomes King.
- 1789 Outbreak of the French Revolution.
- 1791 Duke of Rivas is born.
- 1792 The *Diario de Barcelona*, the oldest newspaper in Spain, first published.
Godoy becomes minister.
Spain enters the first coalition against France.
- 1793 Catalonia and the Basque Provinces occupied by the French.
- 1795 Treaty of Basle. Spain surrenders her territory in the Island of Santo Domingo to France.
- 1796 Spain joins France against England.
Spanish fleet defeated by the English off Cape St. Vincent.
Birth of Cecelia Böhl de Faber.
England captures Trinidad.
Naples occupied by the French.
- 1801 Spain cedes Louisiana to France and declares war on Portugal.
Peace of Amiens.
- 1802 Spain cedes Trinidad to England.
- 1804 Spain joins France against England.
- 1805 Combined French and Spanish fleets destroyed at Trafalgar.
- 1806 Birth of Hartzenbusch.
Spanish troops sent to support Napoleon in Germany.
- 1807 The French under Junot enters Spain.
- 1808 The rising at Aranjuez leads to the abdication of Charles IV in favor of his son Ferdinand.
Charles IV and Ferdinand meet Napoleon at Bayonne.
2nd May the rising in Madrid against the French.
Joseph Bonaparte becomes King of Spain.
Defeat of the French at Bailén.
The capitulation of Cintra.
Birth of Espronceda.
- 1809 The battle of Corunna.
Wellington lands in Portugal.
Saragossa and Gerona fall after a stout resistance.
Wellington and Cuesta defeat the French under Victor at Talavera.

- Spaniards are defeated at Ocaña.
The Cortes meets at Cadiz.
- 1810 Risings against the French in Venezuela and Chile.
Wellington defeats Massena at Busaco.
- 1811 Wellington defeats Massena at Fuentes d'Onoro.
- 1812 Wellington storms and captures Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz.
Wellington takes Salamanca.
The Cortes draw up a new constitution for Spain.
- 1813 The French routed at Vitoria.
Birth of Garcia Gutierrez.
- 1814 Ferdinand VII returns to Spain.
- 1815 Birth of Federico Madrazo.
- 1816 The Argentine declares its independence.
- 1817 Birth of Zorrillo.
Birth of Campoamor.
- 1818 Victory of Chileans at Maipo and independence of Chile proclaimed.
- 1819 Victory of the Venezuelans at Boyaca.
- 1820 Rising of Colonel Riego at Cabezas de San Juan and the proclamation of the Constitution of 1812.
- 1821 Defeat of the Spaniards at Carabobo and the formation of the new state of Bolivia follows.
- 1822 Mexico rises against Spanish domination.
- 1823 The Duke of Angoulême marches on Cadiz and the absolutist régime is restored.
- 1824 Victory of Peruvians at Ayacucho followed by the declaration of independence of Peru.
Birth of Valera.
- 1825 England recognises the independence of the South American republics.
- 1829 Ferdinand marries his fourth wife, Maria Cristina of Naples.
The repeal of the Salic Law passed by the Cortes in 1789 is promulgated.
- 1830 Birth of the Infanta Isabella.
- 1833 Death of Ferdinand VII; Maria Cristina becomes regent.
Birth of Alarcón.
Birth of Pereda.
- 1834 Anti-clerical riots in Madrid.
Zumalacarregui killed at the siege of Bilbao.

256 SPAIN—ITS STORY BRIEFLY TOLD

- 1835 Publication of "Don Alvaro" by the Duke of Rivas.
Foundation of the Ateneo of Madrid.
- 1836 Espartero defeats the Carlists at Luchana and the
siege of Bilbao is raised.
Publication of "El Trovador" of Garcia Gutierrez.
- 1837 A new constitution is drawn up.
- 1838 The Carlists take Segovia.
Victory of Espartero at Retuerta.
Birth of Fortuny.
- 1839 The agreement of Vergara ends the first Carlist
war.
- 1840 Maria Cristina resigns her position at the head of
the government and Espartero becomes regent.
- 1841 Birth of Raimundo Madrazo.
- 1843 Birth of Galdós.
Isabella II declared of age to reign by the Cortes.
- 1844 The creation of the Civil Guard.
Spain recognises the independence of the South Amer-
ican republics.
- 1845 A new constitution is drawn up by Narváez.
- 1846 Isabella II marries her cousin Francisco de Asis,
while her sister, Louisa Fernanda, marries the Duke
de Montpensier, son of Louis Philippe.
- 1850 Birth of Emilio Pardo Bazán.
- 1854 Military rising at Vicalvaro brings Espartero and
O'Donnell into power.
O'Donnell forms the party of Liberal Union and be-
comes Prime Minister.
- 1857 The Education Bill is passed.
- 1859 Expedition to Morocco and the taking of Tetuan.
- 1861 Birth of Albéniz.
- 1862 Birth of Ganivet.
- 1863 Birth of Sorolla.
- 1864 Birth of Unamuno.
- 1866 Mendez Nuñez bombards Callao.
Birth of Benavente.
- 1867 Prim provokes an insurrection in Madrid.
Birth of Blasco Ibáñez.
Birth of Rubén Darío.
Birth of Manuel Linares Rivas.
- 1868 The fleet meeting at Cadiz.
Serrano defeats the Queen's troops at Alcolea.
Isabella II leaves Spain and abdicates the throne in

- favour of her son Alfonso.
 Birth of Granados.
- 1869 The Provisional Government set up.
 Birth of Valle Inclán.
- 1870 The Cortes elects Amadeo of Savoy to be King of Spain.
 Prim is assassinated.
 Birth of Zuloaga.
- 1871 Amadeo arrives in Spain.
 The second Carlist war breaks out.
- 1872 The Cuban revolt starts with the rising at Yara.
 Autonomy parted to Puerto Rico.
 Birth of Pio Baroja.
- 1873 Amadeo I abdicates.
 Figueras becomes the first president of the Republic.
- 1874 Carlists advance south.
 Alfonso XII issues his manifesto to Spain and is proclaimed King by General Martinez Campos.
 Birth of Manuel Machado.
- 1875 Martinez Campos finally defeats the Carlists by the taking of Seo de Urgel.
 Birth of Antonio Machado.
- 1876 Canovas frames a constitution.
- 1878 Alfonso XII marries Mercedes, daughter of the Duke de Montpensier.
 Rising in Cuba brought to a close by the agreement of Zanjón.
- 1879 Birth of Gabriel Miró.
 Alfonso marries the Archduchess Maria Cristina of Austria.
- 1881 Birth of Juan Ramón Jiménez.
- 1884 Spain colonises the valley of the river Muni in Guinea and Rio de Oro.
- 1885 Death of Alfonso XII. Regency of Queen Maria Cristina.
- 1886 Birth of Alfonso XIII.
- 1890 Sagasta revises the constitution of 1876.
- 1893 Expedition to reduce the Riff to order.
- 1895 Insurrection breaks out in Cuba. Martinez Campos is sent to restore order.
- 1896 General Weyler replaces Martinez Campos.
 Defeat of Cubans at Punta Brava.
- 1897 Canovas is assassinated.

258 SPAIN—ITS STORY BRIEFLY TOLD

Sagasta grants Home Rule to Cuba.
General Blanco replaces General Weyler.
Rising in the Philippines.

- 1898 The United States declares war on Spain.
The Spanish fleet destroyed at Cavite and at Santiago de Cuba.
Spain relinquishes Cuba and the Philippines by the Treaty of Paris.

- 1902 Alfonso XIII on coming of age swears to respect the Constitution.

List of Sovereigns

KINGS OF ASTURIAS

Pelayo	718-737
Favila	737-739
Alfonso I	739-757
Fruela I	757-768
Aurelio	768-774
Silo	774-783
Mauregato	783-789
Bermudo I	789-791
Alfonso II	791-842
Ramiro I	842-850
Ordoño I	850-866
Alfonso III	866-910

KINGS OF LEÓN

Garcia	910-914
Ordoño II	914-924
Fruela II	924-925
Alfonso IV	925-930
Ramiro II	930-950
Ordoño III	950-955
Sancho I (abdicated)	955-956
Ordoño IV	956-960
Sancho I (returned)	960-967
Ramiro III	967-982
Bermudo II	982-999
Alfonso V	999-1028
Bermudo III	1028-1037

KINGS OF CASTILE AND LEÓN

Ferdinand I	1037-1065
Sancho II	1065-1072
Alfonso VI	1072-1109
Urraca	1109-1126
Alfonso VII	1126-1157

KINGS OF LEÓN

Ferdinand II	1157-1188
Alfonso IX	1188-1230

KINGS OF CASTILE

Sancho III	1157-1158
Alfonso VIII	1158-1214
Henry I	1214-1217
Ferdinand III	1217-1252

KINGS OF CASTILE AND LEÓN

Ferdinand III	1230-1252
Alfonso X	1252-1284
Sancho IV	1284-1295
Ferdinand IV	1295-1312
Alfonso XI	1312-1350
Peter I	1350-1369
Henry II	1369-1379
John I	1379-1390
Henry III	1390-1406
John II	1406-1454
Henry IV	1454-1474

KINGS OF ARAGON

Ramiro I	1035-1063
Sancho Ramirez	1063-1094
Peter I	1094-1104
Alfonso I	1104-1134
Ramiro II	1134-1137
Petronila	1137-1162
Alfonso II	1162-1196
Peter II	1196-1213
James I	1213-1276
Peter III	1276-1285
Alfonso III	1285-1291
James II	1291-1327
Alfonso IV	1327-1336
Peter IV	1336-1387
John I	1387-1395
Martín	1395-1410
Interregnum	1410-1412
Ferdinand I	1412-1416

Alfonso V1416-1458
 John II1458-1479
 Ferdinand II1479-1516

KINGS OF SPAIN

Ferdinand and
 Isabella1474-1504

HOUSE OF AUSTRIA

Philip and Joan I..1504-1516
 Charles I1516-1556
 Philip II1556-1598
 Philip III1598-1621
 Philip IV1621-1665

Charles II1665-1700

HOUSE OF BOURBON

Philip V1700-1724
 Luis I 1724
 Philip V1724-1746
 Ferdinand VI1746-1759
 Charles III1759-1788
 Charles IV1788-1808
 Ferdinand VII1808-1833
 Isabella II1833-1868
 Interregnum1868-1874
 Alfonso XII1874-1885
 Alfonso XIII1886-

Index

- Abderrahman. *See* Caliphs and Emirs.
 Academies, 179, 191
 Adeldard of Bath, 38
 Adrian, Cardinal of Utrecht, Regent of Spain, 99, 101
 Agreda (Sor Maria), 145, 148
 Agnani, Treaty of, 63 f.
 Agriculture, 20, 35, 46, 127, 135, 186 ff., 236 ff.
 Alarcos, battle of, 31
 Alba, Duke of, 110, 119, 121, 125
 Alberoni, Cardinal, 175 f.
 Albigeneses, the, 56
Alcabala, the, 149
 Alcala, university in, 97, 99, 128
 Alexander VI, orders public rejoicings over the taking of Granada, 84
 Alfonso I of Aragon, the Battler, 52
 Alfonso II of Aragon and Barcelona, 55 f.
 Alfonso III of Aragon, 62-65
 Alfonso IV of Aragon, 65
 Alfonso V of Aragon, 75; takes Naples, 76 f.
 Alfonso I of Asturias, "the Catholic," 16
 Alfonso II of Asturias, 18
 Alfonso III of Asturias, 19
 Alfonso V of León, grants first charter in Spanish history, 22
 Alfonso VI of Castile and León, 25; trouble with the Cid, 26; alliance with Burgundy, 28
 Alfonso VII of Castile and León, Emperor, 29; alliance with St. Louis of France, 30
 Alfonso VIII of Castile, 30-32
 Alfonso IX of León, 32, 38
 Alfonso X, the Wise, of Castile and León, 35; unpopularity of, 36; great work of, 36 ff.
 Alfonso XI of Castile and León, 41 f.
 Alfonso XII of Spain, 225-227
 Alfonso XIII of Spain, 230-239
 Algeciras, 13, 42, 65; European Powers at Conference of, 234
 Algiers, 112, 134
 Alhambra, the, 84 f.
 Almansa, victory of, 173 f.
 Almanzor, scourge of Christian Spain, 21 f.
 Almohades. *See* Las Navas de Tolosa, battle of
 Almoravides, 26, 30
 Álvarez, General Juan, 138
 Álvaro de Luna, 46 f.
 Amadeo of Savoy, chosen King of Spain, 224 f.
Amadis de Gaula, 99
 Amalia of Saxony, Queen of Spain, 214
 America, Spanish, discovered, 88-91; administration of, 193 f.; conquest of, 103 ff.; independence of, 215 f.; war with Chile and Peru, 223. *See* New World
 Anna of Austria, 4th wife of Philip II, 127
 Andalusia, 7, 9, 13; prosperity of, 35, 135
 Anjou, House of, 60, 63 f., 75
 Anjou, Duke of, succeeds to throne, 169. *See* House of Bourbon
 Antequera, 4; Ferdinand of, 75 ff.
 Arabs, the, 11 ff.; occupation of Spain, 15; power and culture, 20 f.; gradual loss of Spain, 22. *See* Moors and Reconquest
 Aragon, 22 f.; development of, 51-78; united with Castile, 78; war with France, 92; rebellion of, 172 f.
 Aranda, Count of, 185, 198
 Architecture, Arab, 20; Gothic, 35; Renaissance, 98; under Charles III, 191
 Arianism, 10; renounced, 11
 Armada, the Spanish, 126 f.
 Army, the, 179, 213. *See* Tercios
Astronomy, 38
 Asturias, province of, 14; Princes of, 44
 Augustus, 7
 Austria, 172, 176 f., 180
 Austria, House of, 81-170
Autos de fe, 83, 153 f.
 Avila, 31
 Aztecs, 105

- Balboa, 104
 Balearic Islands, 57 f., 62 f.
 Bailén, French defeat at, 207 f.
 Barbarossa of Tunis, 110
 Barcelona, 10; House of, 53, 68, 72; 174, 232 f.
 Basques, 4, 17, 199, 218, 231
 Belgium. *See* Low Countries
 Berbers, 16
 Berenguela, Queen of Castile, 33
 Berenguer of Barcelona, 52
 Bermudo III of León, 23
 Bethencourt, Jean de, 44 f.
 Black Death, the, 67
 Blanche of Castile, 30
 Boabdil, Moorish King, 84
 Bolivia, 105
 Bologna, Charles V crowned at, 109
 Bourbon, House of, 171-197; Braganza, John of, 143; Barbara of, Queen, 182
 Breda, the capture of, 142
 Brihuega, victory of, 173
 Bull-fight, a, described, 103, 151
 Burgos, 19, 22, 43, 83
 Burgundy, Counts of, in Reconquest, 25; alliance with Castile, 28
 Byzantines, 10, 12

 Cabrera, quoted, 116; as leader, 218
 Cadiz, 4, 35
 Cagliari, 111
 Calais, 116, 126
 Calatrava, Knights of, 30
 Calderón, 157
 Caliphs, of Damascus, 15; of Spain, 20 f.
 Cambrai, Treaty of, 109
Camino Frances, 29, 32
 Campomanes, 185, 187
 Canary Islands, 44 f.
 Canovas, as minister, 217, 226, 229
 Cantabria, 7, 10, 33
 Cantigas of Alfonso XI, 37
 Carlists. *See* Don Carlos
 Carlos, Don, 214, 218 f.; son of preceding, 221; grandson, 225 f.
 Cartagena, 5, 10, 35, 180
 Carthage and Carthaginians, 4, 6
 Carvajal, 181
 Caspe, Nine of, choose King, 73
 Castaños, General, 207
 Castelar, 217, 224 ff.
 Castile, 19, 22 f.; development of, 24-50; poverty in, 35, 46; relations with Aragon, 59; union with Aragon, 78
 Castilian language, 11, 37
 Catalonia and the Catalans, 10, 42, 52 f., 58, 77 f., 143, 199, 204, 207, 218, 232 f.
 Cateau-Cambrésis, Treaty of, 116
 Catholic Kings, the, 52, 78; reign of, 82-93; children of, 91; progress wrought by, 96-99; tomb in Granada, 98; ideal of Pan-Iberian unity, 105; firmness with Moors, 133. *See* Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile
 Catholicism, made religion of Spain, 11; attempts of Charles V to secure triumph of in Germany, 112 ff.
 Celts, 4
 Central America, 104
 Cerda, de la, Fernando, 39; Infantes, 40
 Cervantes, 124
 Ceuta, 166
Chanson de Roland, 17
 Charlemagne, 17
 Charles, Archduke, 172 f.; as Charles VI, Emperor, 173,
 Charles I of Spain. *See* Charles V, Emperor
 Charles II of Spain, 164-170
 Charles III of Spain, 182 ff.; reforms of, 186 ff.; private life of, 196 ff.
 Charles IV of Spain, 198-204; abdication of, 205
 Charles V, Emperor, 96, 99-116, election, 101; Arms of, 102; war with France, 102; acquisitions in New World, 103 f.; marriage, 105 f.; journeys, 106; appearance of, 107; court of, 107; coronation of, 109; military ability of, 110; champion of Christendom, 110, 112 f.; abdication of, 114; Funeral of, 115; training of son, 117
 Charles VIII of France, 92
 Charters, 22, 37, 62, 67. *See* Fueros, Privilege of Union, Battle of Épila
 Chile, 105
 Christianity, comes to Spain, 7; saved, 15, 35. *See* Mozárabes, Reconquest
 Christian Kingdom, divisions in, 34, 40
 Christian fleets against Turks, described, 111
 Church, the, 8, 12. *See* Catholicism, Papacy

- Cid, the, 26 f.; *Epic of*, 27
 Cisneros, Cardinal, 69, 97 ff.; 108
 Cistercians, defend fortress of Calatrava, 30
 Clement VII, Pope, and Charles V, 109
 Clovis, 10
 Cluny, influence of, 28 f.
 Columbus, Christopher, 85-91; diary quoted, 88 f.
 Commerce, 35, 83, 96, 127, 180, 186
 Compostela. *See* Santiago
 Comunidades, 100
 Condé, 144, 146
 Conradin, 60
 Conservatives. *See* Political Parties
 Constantinople, 64
 Constanza of Sicily, 60, 75
 Constitutions, of Aragon, 73; of 1812, 212; of 1837, 220 f. *See* Government
 Cordoba, 13; mosque of, 18; seat of Caliphate, 20, 22; university of, 21
 Corsica, 64
 Cortes, the, 35, 40, 54, 62 f., 69, 83, 105, 119, 121, 177, 201, 211, 220, 223 f., 231
 Cortés, Hernán, 103 f.
 Corunna, Battle of, 210
 Court life and Pageantry, in Aragon, 70 ff., 76 f.; at coronation of Ferdinand of Antequera, 73 f.; under Isabella, 93; under Charles V, Emperor, 105 f.; under Philip II, 116 f., 128; under Philip IV, 146-164; under Charles III, 191 ff.
 Councils, of the Church, 11; of Ferdinand II, 83; of Philip II, 118
 Covadonga, battle of, 14 f., 84
Cronica General de España, 39
 Crusades, against the Almohades, 31; against the Turks, 111
 Cuba, 216, 228 f.
 Cuenca, 31, 56, 225
 Cuesta, commander, 210

 Damaso, San, Pope, 8
 Daoiz, 206
 De la cruz, court painter, 128
 Diocletian, 8
 Dolmens, 3
 Dominic, St., 57
 Dominicans, 86
 Doria, Andrea, 111
 Drake, Francis, 126

 Dress, 72, 94, 131 f., 152, 154, 162, 168
 Dunes, battle of the, 137, 146

 Education, 11, 32, 38, 67-69, 96-99, 189, 237. *See* Academies, Universities
 El Greco, 128
 Elche, "Woman of," 4
 Elizabeth of England, 126, 136, 155
 Emirs, 15
 "Empecinado," the (Martinez Diaz), 210, 214
 England, relations with, 42 ff., 91, 109, 126 f., 136, 141 f., 156, 176 f., 180, 182 f., 199 ff., 202, 210 f., 216, 233
 Ena of Battenberg, 233
 Ensenada, 181
 Epila, battle of, 67
 Escoiquiz, 204
 Escorial, the, 118; monk of, quoted, 124; library of, 128
 Esquilache, Marquis de, 184 f., 197
 Espartero, 217 ff.
 Etruria, kingdom of, 200
 Europe, balance of power in, 173, 178

 Fadrique, Don, of Aragon, 63 f.
 Family Compact, the, 178, 180; Second, 182
 Farnese, Alexander, 121, 126
 Ferdinand I of Castile and León, 23 f.
 Ferdinand II of León, 30
 Ferdinand III of Castile and León, 33 ff.
 Ferdinand IV of Castile and León, 40 f.
 Ferdinand VI, 177, 180 f.
 Ferdinand VII, 203-214. *See* Godoy, Joseph Bonaparte
 Ferdinand I of Aragon, 73-75. *See* Nine of Caspe
 Ferdinand II of Aragon (Ferdinand V of Spain), 49; marriage to Isabella, 81; accession, 82; second marriage, and Regency of Joan, 95; death, 96. *See* Catholic Kings
 Fernán-Núñez, Count of, 188 f., 196
 Ferrer, St. Vincent, 73
 Flag of Spain, 179
 Flanders, 99, 103, 116, 118, 121 f., 137
 Flor, Roger de, in East, 64 ff.
 Floridablanca, 185, 198 f., 201, 208
 France, 15, 43, 60 ff., 78, 92, 95, 102 f., 109, 138, 167, 169 f., 171 f., 176, 198; occupation of Peninsula by

- armies of, 204-211. *See* Joseph Bonaparte
- Franche-Comté, 143, 166 f.
- Franciscans, 195
- Franks, the, 10, 15
- French Revolution, 198, 208
- Fruela I, King, 17
- Fueros, 55, 174, 218. *See* Charters *Fuero Juzgo*, 11, 18, 35
- Gandia, Duke of, loyal conduct of, 134
- Gaul, 10
- Gelmirez, Bishop of Santiago, 28
- Genoese, 42, 68, 76
- General Privilege, the, 62
- Germany, religious strife in, 112-114
- Gerona, 62, 77, 210
- Gibraltar, 33, 82, 174
- Godoy, Manuel, 199, 202-205, 209
- Gongora, style of, 157
- Gonzalez Bravo, 217, 222
- Gonzalo de Cordoba, the "Gran Capitán," 92 f.
- Government, 35 ff., 54 f., 82-84, 96, 120, 231-233. *See* Fueros, Partidas, Privilege of Union, General Privilege, Constitutions, *Usatges*
- Granada, 15, 40, 45; the taking of, 84 f.
- Grandeess, 107
- Greeks, 4; Greek language, 11
- Gregory VII, Pope, and ritual, 28
- Guadalquivir River, 33, 187
- Guadalete, battle of, 13
- Guadarrama, the, 118, 177, 209
- Guesclin, Bertrand du, 43
- Gustavus Adolphus, 142
- Guzmán, Alfonso Perez del, heroism of, 39 f.
- Hadrian, 7
- Hamilcar, Hannibal, 5
- Haro, Luis de, minister, 145, 157
- Henry of Trastamara (Henry II), 43
- Henry III, 44; and Tamerlaine, 45
- Henry IV, 48 ff.
- Henry VIII of England, 109
- Hermidad, Santa, 83 f.
- Hermenegildo, 10 f.
- Hixen II, arts and letters under, 20 f.
- Holy Alliance, 213
- Holy League, against the Turks, 123
- Honduras, 91
- Huesca, 51, 68
- Iberians, 3 f.
- Inca Empire. *See* Aztecs
- Ignatius, St., 119, 149, 102
- Ildefonso, San, 11
- Illiberis, Council of, 8
- Indians, 90; "Missons," 194 f.
- Indies, 129, missionaries to, 130
- Industry, dependent on Moriscos, 135; on foreigners, 160; unpopular in Castile, 46.
- Innocent III, Pope, 31, 56
- Inquisition, the, 83, 120, 133, 209, 212
- Isabel de Bourbon, married to Philip IV, 138, 158, 169
- Isabel Clara Eugenia, Governor in Flanders, 122
- Isabel of Farnese, and sons of, 175, 177
- Isabel, Queen, of Portugal, 47
- Isabel de Valois, married to Philip II, 116 f.
- Isabella I of Castile and León, succession, 49; marriage, 81; aid to Columbus, 87; solicitude for Indians, 90; personality, 93-95; will, 96; learning, 97. *See* Catholic Kings
- Isabella II of Spain, 214, 221 ff.
- Isidoro, San, 11, 38, 149
- Italy, 5; League in, 112; influence of on art and literature, 98
- Jaen, 20, 31, 33
- James I of Aragon, the Conqueror, 57-59
- James II of Aragon, 63-65
- James, St., the Greater, 8; tomb found, 18. *See* Santiago
- Jesuits, 102, 185, 195
- Jews, 16, 34; expulsion of, 83 f.
- Jimena, Doña, wife of the Cid, 27
- Jimenes de Rada, Archbishop, 25, 31
- John, Infante, at Tarifa, 40
- John I of Castile, 43 f.
- John II of Castile, 45 f.
- John I of Aragon, connoisseur and patron of letters, 69-72
- John II of Aragon, 77 f.
- John, Prince, son of Ferdinand and Isabella, 91
- Juana, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, called "Joan the Mad," married to Philip of Burgundy, 91, 95-97, 100
- Juana la Beltraneja, 49, 81 f.
- Juana of Portugal, 49
- Juntas, 205 ff.

- Justiciar of Aragon, 54, 63, 120
 Juvenus, 8
- Katherine of Aragon, 91, 97
- La Goleta. *See* Tunis, taking of
 La Mancha, 187 f.
- Lancaster, Duke of, claim to Castile, 43
 Latin language, 11, 29
 Leandro, San, 11
 León, 17, 19; charter of, 22, 30 f., 33, 35, 38, 42
 Lauria, Roger de, 60-63
 Liuvigildo, 10 f.
- League of Nations, 234
 Lerida, capture of, 145
 Lepanto, battle of, 123-125
 Lerma, Duke of, tutor to Philip III, 130, 133
 Liberals. *See* Political Parties
 Lope de Vega, 157
 Louis, St., of France, 30
 Louis XIV of France, 171 f., 175
 Louis XV, 177
 Low Countries, 114 ff.
- Lucan, 8
 Luis, son of Philip V, 177
 Lull, Ramón, 68, 96
 Lutheranism, 112
- Madrid, Peace of, 103; capital, 118; 205 ff., 209
 Magellan, 103 f.
- Majorca, conquest of, 66; college in, 68
 Manfred, 60, 64
 Marca Hispanica, 22, 53
 Marcus Aurelius, 7
 Maria, Queen of Castile, rules for Alfonso V, 76 f.
- Maria de Molina, Regent, 40
 Maria Cristina of Naples, disturbances during Regency of, 214 f.; abdication, 220. *See* Don Carlos
 Maria Luisa of Savoy, 202, 205
 Maria Theresa, 180 f.
- Mariana, Queen, Regent for Charles II, 156 f., 169
 Marie Louise of Savoy, 173 f.
- Marlborough, 172
 Martel, Charles, 15
 Martín I, confusion at death of, 72 f.
 Martinez de la Rosa, 218 ff.
- Martyrs, Spanish, 8, 18
 Mary, Queen of England, 114 ff.
- Mary Stuart, 126
 Mauretania, 12-15
 Mazarin, 146
 Medina Sidonia, Dukes of, 86, 126
 Mendizabal, 217 f.
- Mendoza, Pedro Gonzalez de, Cardinal of Spain, 84, 86, 95, 108
 Mexico, University of, 129, 193 f.
- Military Orders, 166; Knights of Calatrava, 30 f.; Knights of Malta, 111; Our Lady of the Lilies, 73; Knights of Santiago, 29, 46; Knights Templars, 52
 Minorca, 174
 Miranda, Venezuelan leader, 215
 Moctezuma, 104
 Montfort, Simon de, in Aragon, 56
 Montalvo, Leyes de, 83
 Moors, occupation of, 24-26, 30-36, 39, 40, 41 f., 46, 84 f.; in Africa, 119. *See* Arabs
 Moore, Sir John, 209
 Moriscos, 122; expulsion of, 133-136
 Morocco, 39 f., 134, 223, 234; government of, 235
 Mozárabes, 16, 18, 34
 Mozárabic rite, regulated, 28 f.; —music, 112
 Mudéjars, 34, 59. *See* Moriscos
 Muladies, 16, 18
 Murcia, 33, 36, 39, 43, 59
- Naples, 75, 77, 92
 Napoleon, 199 ff.
- Narváez, 218
 Navarre, 22, 52 f., 96, 102
 Navas de Tolosa, Las, battle of, 32
 Navy, the, 11, 17, 33, 35, 42, 76, 123, 176, 179
 Naval supremacy, passing of, 127
 Netherlands, the, 111, 114, 121 f., 126, 136, 146. *See* Low Countries
 New World, intellectual activity in, 129; left to Spain, 173
 Nimwegen, Peace of, 167
 Nobility, the, 33, 40, 42, 46, 49, 53, 54, 67, 82, 96 f., 107, 171, 134
 Normans, 17, 20
- O'Donnell, 221 f.; defeats Sultan of Morocco, 223
 Olivares, Don Gaspar de Guzmán, the Conde-Duque, 139-141; fall of, 144 f.
 Our Lady, "of Battles," at the taking

- of Seville, 33; venerated in the New World, 88; invoked as *Auxilium Christianorum* after Lepanto, 125; patroness of Spain, after Brihuega, 173
- Ostrogoths, 10
- Oviedo, 17 f.
- Pacheco, Maria, *and* Juan de Padilla, 100 f.
- Palafox, 207
- Pamplona, 21, 102
- Papacy, the, 8, 60, 62 f., 75 f., 96, 110 ff., 123
- Partidas*, the, 36
- Partition Treaties, 170 f.
- Passaro, Cape, naval battle near, 179
- Patiño, 179
- Pedro I, the Cruel, 42
- Pedro I of Aragon, 51
- Pedro II of Aragon, vassal of Holy See, 56 f.
- Pedro III of Aragon, 60-62
- Pedro IV of Aragon, "The Ceremonious," 65 f.; struggle with the Union, 67; patron of learning, 68
- Pelayo, King, 14, 16, 136
- Peru, 105; war with, 223
- Petronila, Doña, of Aragon, importance of marriage with Ramón Berenguer, 52
- Philip of Burgundy, 91, 95
- Philip II of Spain, 108; marriage to Mary Tudor, 114; reign of, 115-130; personal appearance of, 115; application to work, 118 f.; "Knight of the Faith," 120-123
- Philip III, 127, 130-137; summary of reign by Mendoza, 137 f.
- Philip IV, comment of on state of Spain, 140; contrast of splendor and misery during reign of, 149-164; patronage of the arts, 156 f. *See* Olivares
- Philip V, 171-180
- Philippine Islands, 104, 129, 228 f.
- Phoenicians, 4
- Pi y Margall, 217, 224, 226, 229
- Picts, 7
- Pius V, Pope. *See* Lepanto
- Pizarro, Francisco, 103 ff.
- Poitiers, defeat of Visigoths near, 10
- Political Parties in the 19th century, 217-227; under Alfonso XIII, 231
- Portugal, 25, 43 f., annexation of, 119; rebellion of, 143, 148; independence of, 166; supports Archduke Charles, 172; in French invasion, 208 ff.
- Prim, 217, 224
- Prince of Wales (Charles I), visit of to Madrid to arrange for marriage, 141-150; 152, 155
- Privilege of Union, 63, 67
- Provence, singers from, 55
- Puerto Rico, 216
- Prudentius, 8
- Pyrenees, 4, 9, 13; road from to Santiago. *See* Camino Frances
- Quadruple Alliance, 176
- Quevedo, 157
- Ramiro I of Aragon, 22, 51
- Ramiro II of Aragon, 52
- Rastatt, Treaty of, 174, 176
- Ribera, Blessed John de, kindness to Moors, 134
- Reconquest, the, 15, 23, 32, 41, 84. *See* Arabs and Moors
- Requesens, de, 121
- Riff, the, 10, 228, 235
- Rivera, General Prino de, 231 f., 235
- Rodrigo, King of Visigoths, 13
- Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar. *See* Cid, the
- Romans, 5, 6-9; law, 11
- Rome, sack of by Duke of Bourbon, 108 f.
- Renaissance, the, 96, 98
- Roncesvalles, 17
- Rooke, Admiral, 172
- Ryswick, Peace of, 169
- Sagasta, as minister, 226 f.
- Saguntum, 5
- Salado, Battle of the, 41 f.
- Salamanca, university of, 38, 97, 128 f.
- Sancho III of Castile, 30
- Sancho IV, 40
- Sancho the Great, 22, 51
- Santiago de Compostela, 19; taken by Arabs, 21; pilgrimages to, 28. *See* James, St., Military Orders, Gelmirez
- San Salvador, discovered, 88
- San Domingo, 199
- Santa Cruz, Marquis de, Admiral, 119, 123
- Saragossa, 7, 26, 62, 120, 207
- Sardinia, 64, 78, 111

- Scipio, 5
 Scotus, Michael, 38
 Sebastian, King of Portugal, dies fighting the Moors, 119
 Segojuela, battle of, 14
 Seville, schools of, 11, 21, 38; capture by Arabs, 13; arsenal at, 17, 35; rising of Moors at, 36; Treaty of, 178
 Sicily, 60 ff., 75
 St. Quentin, battle of, 116
 Sobieski, John, of Poland, account of Philip III quoted, 130
 Suevi, 9 f.
 Suintila, 12
 Suleiman the Magnificent, Sultan, 110

 Taifas, kingdoms of, 22, 26
 Tamerlaine, 45
 Tarifa, siege of, 39 f.
 Templars, Knights, 52; Grand Master of, Regent, 57
 Teresa, St., correspondence with Philip II, 119; canonization, 149
 Theodosius, 7
 Thirty Years' War, 137
 Toledo, Third Council of, 11; school at, 11, 38; Arabs take, 13; —night, 17; recovery of, 25, 31, 34; cathedral, 35, 117, 123; Archbishop of, at Salado, 42; classical centre, 96
 Tercios, the, 103, 111, 113, 137
 Trafalgar, battle of, 200 f.
 Trinidad Islands, 90, 199
 Troubadours and Trouvères, 64, 67
 Tunis, 58, 110; surrender of, to Christian forces, 112
 Turks, Roger de Flor against, 64; height of power, 110
 Two Sicilies, the, 178

 Triumph of the True Cross, Feast of. *See* Las Navas de Tolosa

 Union, the. *See* Privilege of the Union
 United States, war with, 229
 Universities, 38, 68, 97, 128, 190 ff.
 Urraca, Queen of Castile and León, 27 52
Usatges, the, 53
 Utrecht, Peace of, 173
 Utrecht, Union of, 121. *See* Netherlands, the

 Valdivia, Pedro de, 105
 Valencia, 26, 27, 32, 58, 133
 Valladolid, 48, 91, 128, 133
 Vandals, the, 9 f.
 Vega, Garcilasso de la, sonnets of, 98
 Velasquez, 153, 162 f.
 Viana, Prince Carlos de, of Navarre, 53, 77, 81
 Villalar, battle of, 100
 Villaviciosa, disaster at, 149
 Viriato, 6
 Visigoths, 9, 10-14; art of, 12, 34
 Vitoria, 211
 Vives, Juan Luis, 98

 Wamba, 13
 War of Independence. *See* French occupation
 Wellington, 210 f.
 Whitney, Mrs. Payne, monument of Columbus by, 88
 World War, neutrality in, 233
 Worms, Diet of, 112

 Yuste, Charles V in monastery at, 115, 118

 Zamora, 19, 21, 94
 Zumalacarrgui, General, 218

(17)

282

860-AZ-597

